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QUEZON In Retrospect

Edited by

Mauro Garcia

and

Juan F. Rivera

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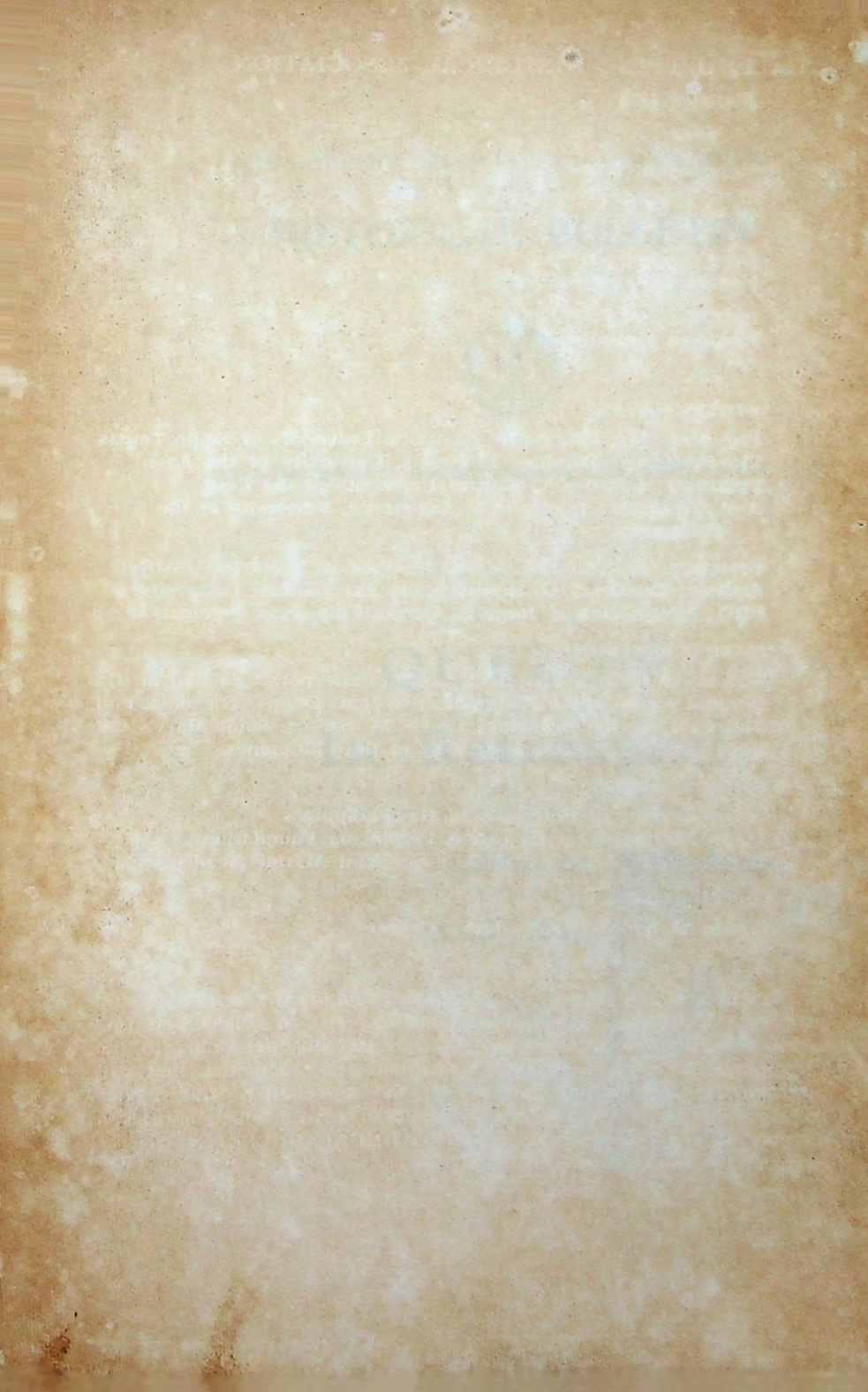
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QUEZON

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QUEZON

IN RETROSPECT

A Commemorative Volume Issued on the

100th Birthday of President

Manuel L. Quezon

Edited by

MAURO GARCIA

and

JUAN F. RIVERA

Manila

Philippine Historical Association

1978

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IN RESPECT

Q39

A commemorative issue issued on the

100th birthday of President

1978

John F. Kennedy

Edited by

MARIO GARCIA

and

JOSE E. RIVERA

Madrid

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1978

FOREWORD

The Philippine Historical Association presents to its readers this 1978 issue of its **Historical Bulletin** entitled: **Quezon: In Retrospect** in commemoration of President Manuel L. Quezon's 100th birthday anniversary.

The volume is a collection of thought-provoking articles, challenging speeches and rewarding reminiscences of persons who knew President Quezon some of whom worked with him closely in the building of the Filipino nation for more than 35 years.

President Quezon's rise to greatness — his philosophy, aspirations and ideals for the nation, his qualities as dynamic leader, the problems he met and how he tackled them, and his achievements — are worth recalling because they are cardinal in understanding the role he played in the struggles of the Philippines for peaceful independence.

Because of the great role played by President Quezon in shaping the destiny of the Philippines from the time he was a member of the Philippine Assembly in 1907 up to his untimely demise in August, 1944, his services to the Filipino people are inspiring and worth emulating. If history is shaped by men who make history, this commemorative volume, a fitting tribute of the Philippine Historical Association, brings into sharp focus, President Quezon's contributions to the development of the Filipino nation. Contemporary history records that President Quezon and his reduced cabinet had the greatest pleasure of seeing the Philippines acquired advance political status during World War II.

With this volume, the Philippine Historical Association, joins the Filipino people in paying tribute to one of its great statesmen—Manuel L. Quezon whose enduring greatness must live in our hearts.

MA. MINERVA A. GONZALEZ
President
Phil. Historical Association

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OUR FAITH IN AMERICA IS UNDAUNTED *

By Manuel L. Quezon

ONCE AGAIN I find myself in this august Hall, where for 7 years I pled the cause of my people, their freedom, and independence. The memory of those happy days, some of the happiest of my life, rush into my mind now, almost making me forget the sad plight in which I find myself.

I came to Washington in the winter of 1909-10. On the very first day that I was introduced to the Speaker and given a seat in this Chamber, a stranger in a foreign land, I received a hearty welcome. And I was treated with not only courtesy but cordiality.

On the 14th of May 1910 I addressed the House of Representatives for the first time. On that occasion I described the splendid work that had already been done by the American administration in the Philippines, with particular reference to schools, sanitation, and roads.

I am glad —

I said on that occasion —

to be able to affirm that, under American occupation, there has been established in the Philippines a more liberal government; and the Filipinos have enjoyed more personal and political liberty than they ever did under the Spanish crown. These facts are freely acknowledged throughout the length and breadth of the islands, and my countrymen wish me most earnestly to assure the House, and, through them, the people of the United States, that they are grateful, profoundly grateful, for all the benefits that your Government has conferred upon them.

But, sirs, despite it all, the Filipinos are not as yet a happy people. You would ask me why? Then I will answer in the language of that great apostle of human freedom, Daniel Webster:

* Address before the U.S. House of Representatives. Reprinted from the Congressional Record, June 2, 1942, Vol. 88, Pt. 4, pp. 4789-4791.

"No matter how easy may be the yoke of a foreign power, no matter how lightly it sits upon the shoulder, if it is not imposed by the voice of its own opinion and of its own truth, he will not, he cannot, and he means not to be happy under its burden.

These words I uttered in this same Hall 32 years ago. It took 7 years of constant pleading before I secured the enactment of the act known among us as the Jones law, in which the United States for the first time solemnly pledged the faith of this country to the independence of the Philippines when a stable government should have been established there. Under this act the Filipino people for the first time in their history were to have a legislature of two houses elected by themselves.

Thereupon we began building, day after day, the foundations of a government that the United States would, in due time, consider stable, so that independence might be granted.

Later, in the course of a few years, another act was passed by the Congress which fixed the year 1946 for the granting of complete independence to the Philippines. Under this Independence Act the Commonwealth of the Philippines was organized and established, with a constitution framed and adopted by the Filipino people themselves.

I was elected the first President of the Commonwealth. A five delegation from the House of Representatives, headed by its Speaker, and an equally five delegation from the Senate, headed by its President, came to the islands to witness the inauguration of the Commonwealth. They came there to see with their own eyes the inauguration of human liberty which had been granted by the United States.

Mr. Speaker, from that day on the Commonwealth of the Philippines enacted those laws and executed those policies necessary to prepare the Filipino people to assume their responsibilities as an independent nation in 1946. The first act passed by the legislature, to create a citizen army, was recommended by me and known as the National Defense Act. The

act was in accordance with the plan submitted by General MacArthur.

I had secured from the President of the United States permission to bring him to the Philippines as my military adviser in order to organize our armed forces. The outcome is the army that has just fought side by side with your own men in the defense of your flag in the Philippines. That is the army which has shed its blood bravely, nay, willingly, so that it might show to the United States the gratitude of our people for the just and wise policy that you have adopted and followed in your dealings with us.

I am not going to tell you, Mr. Speaker, what the armies in the Philippines, Americans and Filipinos alike, have done. You have read all that in your press. Nor am I going to dwell at length upon the gallantry, the heroism, and the wonderful leadership of Douglas MacArthur.

You well know that in those dark and terrible days there were many other men, too, who deserve your recognition. There was, of course, General Wainwright, whose tragic responsibility it was at last to surrender Corregidor. He, too, has been a hero throughout the war, from the first day to the last. And there were other American officers and, may I say, some Filipinos also.

There was General Lim, a West Pointer, the first Filipino to graduate from that famous military academy, and there was General Capinpin, who had risen from the ranks. I might mention many other gallant Filipinos, but names of Lim and Capinpin alone would be enough to cover with glory the military history of my country.

Mr. Speaker, you have heard of the gallant achievements of many Americans and Filipinos during the war. To me perhaps the most striking act of heroism was one that has not been publicised enough. It is the story of a Filipino mess sergeant. You would expect a general, an officer, even a soldier of the line, to be a hero. That is his duty; that is what he is there for. But a cook; the duty of a cook is to feed his

men. He is not supposed to be on the firing line. He is supposed to be as far removed from the bullets as possible, so that the men for whom he provides food may be duly taken care of.

I shall read to you the citation for the award of the Medal of Honor:

AWARD OF MEDAL OF HONOR

By direction of the President, under the provisions of the act of Congress approved July 9, 1918, a Medal of Honor was awarded by the War Department in the name of Congress to Jose Calugas, sergeant, Battery B. Eighty-eight Field Artillery, Philippine Scouts, United States Army. For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy at Culis, Bataan Province, P.I., January 16, 1942. When the battery gun position was shelled and bombed until one piece was put out of action and casualties caused the removal of the remaining cannoneers to shelter, Sergeant Calugas, mess sergeant of another battery, voluntarily, and of his own accord proceeded 1,000 yards across the shell-swept area to the gun position and joined the volunteer gun squad, which fired effectively on the enemy, although heavy bombing and shelling of the position continued.

He deserves the Congressional Medal, Mr. Speaker. I am positive that in the whole history of the war there has never been a cook who felt it his duty or even his privilege to run 1,000 yards into an almost hand-to-hand fight. To me he represents the determination of the Filipino people to do more than their duty in standing by their mother country, the United States of America.

I am not going to tell you all about the war. I will not even tell you the story of my escape from Corregidor, a beleaguered fortress surrounded by enemy warships and bombed frequently by enemy war planes and heavy artillery. Instead, I want to read to you documents which will tell you of the recent commitments of the President of United States to the Philippines, and of my own promises to my people. Perhaps these documents will tell you better than in any other way a very important chapter of the battle of the Philippines.

I left Manila on the 24th of December last. The enemy was bombing the port area of the city at that moment, just where I had to take and did take the ship for Corregidor. We arrived at Corregidor late in the afternoon.

I may tell you, however, that I went to Corregidor only upon the insistent demand of General MacArthur. This I make of record, because I wish my people to know that I did not leave Manila of my own free will. As a matter of fact, I did not want to leave Manila. I did not wish my people to think that I was going to the fortress and leaving them behind. I told General MacArthur, when he first proposed that I go with him to Corregidor, "General, I don't want to do that. I think my duty is to be with my people. If they are going to be overrun by the enemy, I want to be overrun with them. If they are going to be prisoners and enslaved, I want to be a prisoner and enslaved with them. If they are going to be killed, I want to be killed with them."

But General MacArthur said, "No; that is not your duty, Mr. President, as I see it. With your consent, I have declared Manila an open city and therefore the Japanese forces will enter it without a struggle. Your Government must be saved. Under international law, as you know, as long as your Government has not been overtaken by the enemy; they have not conquered your country."

Acting upon this theory, I left Manila and went to Corregidor.

On the 28th of December I received from the President of the United States the following message:

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINES:

News of your gallant struggle against the Japanese aggressions has elicited the profound admiration of every American. As President of the United States, I know that I speak for our people on this solemn occasion. The resources of the United States, of the British Empire, of the Netherlands East Indies, and the Chinese Republic have been dedicated by their people to the utter and complete defeat of the Japanese war lords. In this great struggle of the Pacific the loyal Americans of the Philippine

Islands are called upon to play a crucial role. They have played, and they are playing tonight, their great part with the greatest gallantry. As President, I wish to express to them my feeling of sincere admiration for the fight they are now making. The people of the United States will never forget what the people of the Philippine Islands are doing these days, and will do in the days to come. I give to the people of the Philippines my solemn pledge that their freedom will be redeemed and their independence established and protected. The entire resources in men and materials of the United States stand behind that pledge. It is not for me or for the people of this country to tell you where your duty lies. We are engaged in a great and common cause. I count on every Philippine man, woman, and child to do his duty. We will do ours.

Gentlemen of the House, I have spent the major part of my public career in legislative bodies. I know how legislators react to Executive pronouncements of this sort. They say—and perhaps, speaking from the point of view of constitutional law, they are right—"The Chief Executive has no power to commit the people and this Government to my policy." But I know you and I know your heart. I think also that I know the American people. I feel that the pledge made by the President of the United States will be considered by every one of you as his own pledge, and will be honored by the American people as a national commitment. I am confident that the country and the Congress will back it up wholeheartedly.

Three days after I received this proclamation from President Roosevelt, I published this proclamation to the Filipino soldiers at the front:

TO THE FILIPINO SOLDIERS AT THE FRONT:

The people of America and your own countrymen have been thrilled by the gallantry with which you have been defending our country. I am grateful and proud for the resistance you have offered against such tremendous odds. You have performed deeds of heroism and valor which will live in the history of these stirring days. The service that you are rendering to your people and your country, to say the least, is the equal of that rendered by our fathers who fought and died in the battles for our liberty.

The President of the United States, speaking for the Government and people of America, in a recent proclamation addressed to the people of the Philippines, solemnly pledged that the freedom of our country will be preserved and our independence protected. He asserted that behind that pledge stood all the resources of America in men and materials. You are, therefore, fighting with America because America is fighting for our freedom. Our salvation will depend upon the victory of American and Filipino arms.

America will not abandon us. Her help will not be delayed. The enemy's temporary superiority in the air, on land and on sea cannot last much longer. We must resist further advance of the enemy until assistance arrives and I trust it will be soon. The outcome of the battle of the Philippines will depend in very large measure on your firm and unyielding resistance.

I am aware of your sufferings, your privations, your sacrifices, and the dangers to which you are exposed. All these weigh heavily upon my mind, but I am consoled by the fact that I am sharing with you your trials and tribulations. Indeed, right now bombs are falling near me just as they must fall around you. But we cannot allow them either to daunt our spirit or weaken our determination to continue fighting to the bitter end. We must stand by our plighted word, by the loyalty that we have pledged to America, and by our devotion to freedom, democracy, and our liberty. We are fighting that the Filipino people may be the masters of their own destiny and that every Filipino not only of this generation but of the generations to come may be able to live in peace and tranquility in the full enjoyment of liberty and freedom. Your duty—our duty—is to fight and resist until the invader is driven from our land. You must not give up a foot of ground when the battle joins. You must hold in places—and hold—and hold.

I also sent to the President of the United States this answer to his message:

HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT:

My heart, and I know the hearts of all Americans and Filipinos in this country, are filled with gratitude for the reassuring words of the President of the United States. My answer, our answer, to him is that every man, woman, and child in the Philippines will do his duty. No matter what sufferings and sacrifices this war may impose upon us, we shall stand by America

with undaunted spirit, for we know that upon the outcome of this war depends the happiness, liberty, and security not only of this generation, but of generations yet unborn.

Mr. Speaker, I shall delay you no longer. These communications which I have just read show the effect which the message of the President had upon us, and upon the spirit with which our soldiers fought side by side with yours in defense of your flag. I shall not tell you, Mr. Speaker, I shall not tell the House of Representatives, I shall not tell the Senate of the United States, I shall not tell the Government and the people of America what they should do for us in the days to come. All I want to say is that death, ruin, and destruction have never daunted our spirit nor lessened our faith in the United States.

Ambeth Ocampo

REMEMBER THE PHILIPPINES *

By Manuel L. Quezon

IT IS A VERY high honor and a rare privilege that you have conferred upon me in inviting me to address the Senate of the United States, the greatest legislative body in the world. I appreciate it more than I can say, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

On August 19, 1941, 4 months before Japan attacked the Philippines, it was my privilege to address Vice President Wallace over the radio from Malacañan Palace in Manila, and, through him, the people of the United States.

On that occasion, I said:

In this grave national emergency, the stand of the Filipino people is clear and unmistakable. We owe loyalty to America and we are bound to her by bonds of everlasting gratitude. Should the United States enter the war, the Philippines would follow her and fight by her side, placing at her disposal all our manpower and all our material resources, however limited these might be. We stand with the United States in life and in death. (Applause)

Those words may have sounded then to some people in this country as more rhetorical than real. To the Filipinos, however, the sentiments that I expressed and the pledge that I made were known to be not only sincere but perfectly natural. What else could be expected of a people whom America has treated justly and fairly and to whom liberty and independence have already been assured through the Tydings-McDuffie Act?

Moreover, the tie which binds our two countries transcends all political and legal relationships. It depends not merely upon a written alliance, a declaration, or a treaty.

* Address before the U.S. Senate. Reprinted from a mimeographed copy issued by the Quezon Memorial Committee.

It consists of spiritual kinship and relationship. Our aims, our hopes, our aspirations, are the same as your own. In the great moral causes the principles of righteousness, of liberty, of peace, the United States and the Philippines are in complete accord with one another; they are in absolute and hearty agreement.

There has been no question, therefore, as to the loyalty of the Filipinos to the United States, or the extent to which they would go in fighting for the American flag. I say "in fighting for the American flag" advisedly, for we fought in the Philippines by your side against overwhelming odds, not only to defend our country against the invader but also to defend your flag against the attack of Japan. (Applause)

When we entered the first World War, although the Philippines were in no way involved therein, we offered to the Government of the United States one submarine and one destroyer, and also asked to be permitted, to be permitted to send one division to fight under your banner on the battlefields of Europe. That we did not have the privilege of actually taking part in that war by your side has always been a source of regret to us. However, even then, individual Filipinos fought and died in your ranks. I remember at this time Tomas Claudio, whom we have immortalized by giving his name to the training camp of our national guard.

Gentlemen of the Senate, since I arrived in this country I have learned that there is a war slogan, "Remember Pearl Harbor". I approve and fully understand the slogan. The attack upon Pearl Harbor aroused every red-blooded and patriotic American to a point where he can never be satisfied with anything less than the definite and complete defeat of Japan. (Applause)

How about the Philippines? Of course, so far as their political relations with the United States are concerned, there is a legal difference between the position of Hawaii and that of the Philippines. Hawaii is much an integral part of the United States as is Washington, D.C., or California, while the

Philippines has already been formally declared by the Congress to be a distinct and separate nation, to become fully independent of the United States on July 4, 1946.

But, when we were attacked by Japan, the American flag was still flying over the Philippines, and we were still under the protection of, and owed allegiance to, the United States. Although in domestic affairs we had almost complete autonomy, in foreign affairs all governmental powers and responsibilities of a trustee in the care and protection of its trust are greater even than those of an owner in respect to his own property.

Gentlemen of the Senate, I am not in this country to persuade you to send forces at once to the Philippines to drive the invader out of my beloved fatherland. Nor will I try to convince you that the Pacific is more important than the European or the Atlantic theatres of war. Those decisions are to be made by you. You will always have in mind, I am sure, that only in the Philippines has your flag been hauled down and replaced by the flag of the Rising Sun.

In view of this tragic event, I do hope that the American people in this hour of their great responsibility to the world will always keep before them the memory of the devotion and sacrifices of the people in the Philippines. Let me ask then, in turn, that your people adopt still another war slogan—"Remember the Philippines".

(Prolonged applause: Senators and occupants
of the galleries rising.)

MANUEL L. QUEZON: PATRIOT AND STATESMAN

By Sergio Osmeña

THE GENERAL and enthusiastic celebration today of the birthday of our beloved President is expressive of a double satisfaction on the part of the people: they are grateful to Divine Providence for the restoration of the health of our leader and for his selection to succeed himself in the high post which he so worthily occupies.

For almost six months our people were deeply concerned over the widely circulated news regarding the state of the President's health. In the centers of population, as well as in the remotest country districts, in the mansions of the rich as well as in the humble homes of the poor, everyone inquired anxiously about the health of our Chief Executive and all prayed for his early recovery. Finally, the prayers of the entire people were heard and the President's health has been practically restored in an almost miraculous way. This happy event produced general rejoicing in the nation and this rejoicing is reflected today in the celebration of his birthday.

There is still another reason for satisfaction on the part of the public, and this is his renomination for the presidency. Three or four years ago, when the first indications of the growing difficulties facing the country were beginning to be realized, especially in connection with the vital problem of economic readjustment, the idea of persuading the President to consent to his reelection arose. There were two great obstacles in the way: the strong opposition of the President himself to the extension of his original term, and the constitutional prohibition against reelection.

But, since the desire to have the President continue in office was based on the popular conviction that there was a vital need for his services, not only because of his proven

* Speech delivered at Station KZRM on August 24, 1941, on the occasion of the 63rd birthday of President Manuel L. Quezon.

capacity to run the government, but also, because of the salutary influence that his powerful personality would exert in the preservation of our national unity in the midst of the highly critical and difficult circumstances now existing all over the world, the more he insisted on his refusal, the stronger became the determination of the people to keep him at the head of the Government.

The statements of the President to the effect that he did not desire reelection were clear and unequivocal. There were a few, however, who, given to suspicion, expressed doubts regarding his real attitude on this subject. But everyone who has had the opportunity to know his plans and to talk to him about the matter not only once but a number of times was convinced that the President has done all that he can possibly do to avoid a second term. I am one of those who entertain this conviction.

As every one knows, my personal relations with the President have been sufficiently close to give me an opportunity to know his plans. Not only am I privileged to be one of his immediate associates in the Government, but the bond of friendship and mutual confidence existing between us has been formed through many years of collaboration and mutual support.

In spite of temporary differences of opinion—differences being natural among free men—we have always been together because we have been friends since boyhood and, above all, because we have always professed the same political principles—faith in the capacity of our people for self-government and in the right of their country to an independent existence.

Except for the fact that he fought as an officer in the army during the Revolution and I made use of the pen instead of the sword in the common defense of our national aspirations, our career has moved in parallel lines. We were boarders together in the Colegio de Santo Tomas at the same time and stayed for some years under the same roof and in the same room, while we supported ourselves by tutoring students who lived in Santo Tomas but studied law until the

war interrupted our studies. When peace came we found ourselves together again as we prepared in the house of our common friend and companion—Jose Clemente Zulueta—on Calle Azcarraga for the examination for admission to the Bar.

After we were admitted to the practice of law, we received at the same time the unexpected news of our appointment to positions in the Government, he as Fiscal of Tayabas and I as Fiscal of Cebu. This was a surprise to us because, aside from the fact that we did not apply for the positions, at that time it was almost a pre-requisite for appointment to the Government to profess certain political ideas, and our ideas were entirely different from those which found acceptance in the high councils of the Government. We were elected Provincial Governors on the same day and the main problem which confronted us in our provinces was the same: the restoration of public order. We served together in the Convention of Provincial Governors in 1906 and later on in the Philippine Assembly. We were also in the Senate, and we were co-members of a number of Philippine missions which went to the United States to conduct negotiations with the authorities in Washington. Together, we defended the Jones Law and fought to maintain the autonomy established in the Philippines under the provisions of that Law. Together, we secured the Independence Law and we are now serving the Commonwealth to carry out the program outlined in that Law which will finally lead to the independence of the country. I have deliberately used the word "together" in referring to the Independence Law because, although the President and I had a disagreement regarding the acceptance of the original law, there was no difference of opinion between us regarding the intrinsic merits of the Independence Act as reproduced, with some changes, in the Tydings-McDuffie Law, and we worked together for its unanimous acceptance not only by our Legislature, but also by the people. Together we have maintained a single national leadership, now under his direction, and previously under mine.

I am reciting these facts so that those who now hear me may understand the reasons which enable me to affirm cate-

gorically and without fear of successful contradiction, that President Quezon has not sought his reelection either during the discussion of the constitutional amendments or after their approval. With his health impaired by overwork and his pre-occupation with affairs of State, he has talked to me many times about his earnest desire to leave the Presidency after his term of six years is over. Even now, with resolutions pouring from all parts of the Philippines urging his reelection and his unanimous renomination by the Party, he has not changed his stand. He is not a candidate, he will not work for his reelection, but, if called to duty by the direct vote of the people, he will, as he himself has stated, heed the call.

I well remember a conference which he and I had upon my return from the United States in October of 1939. He spoke lengthily about the conditions of the country, about our pressing and urgent problems, and about his impaired health. He told me that he did not wish to be reelected, even if his reelection were legally permitted.

And, immediately after the plebiscite on the amendments to the Constitution, I saw him in Baguio. I had just come from a speaking tour in Cebu and the Bicol provinces, and I was reporting to him the overwhelming popular sentiment in favor of his reelection. I stated to him my view that the result of the plebiscite was almost a mandate for his continuance in office. It was a clear day and we were walking in the garden in front of the Guest House. The President, although evidently gratified at the news, said: "The trouble is that I do not like to be a candidate." And, when we saw one of his daughters on the balcony of the house and the President told her of the subject of our conversation, she expressed dissatisfaction at the thought of her father continuing in office and further endangering his health. The President turned to me and remarked: "You see, even my family is against my reelection." Instances of this kind reflecting the President's attitude can be multiplied indefinitely.

Therefore, what I can state to you now is that if the movement for the President's reelection persisted and in-

creased in momentum, especially when the country found its horizon darkened by perils from without and, as a culminating point in its irresistible growth, finally found formal and legal expression in the overwhelming affirmative vote in favor of the amendments to the Organic Law, it was not because the President wished it to be so but in spite of all attempts on his part to discourage it.

The legal obstacle to the assertion of the popular will having been removed, the Party to which our beloved leader belongs has renominated him for the Presidency of the Commonwealth. The people, with that instinct which frequently is as wise as it is unfathomable, insist that he should add still more to the already inestimable sacrifices he has made for his country by giving to his native land in the next few years the priceless benefits to be derived from his unsurpassed statesmanship.

The rejoicing throughout the nation today is, in a sense, a rejoicing caused by the realization by the people that, through the action of the Nacionalista Party taken in deference to the popular will, assurance is given that the national purpose to maintain the leadership of the country unchanged at this time, will be carried to a happy consummation.

Nor is the rejoicing lessened—rather is it heightened—by the knowledge that we are passing through a crisis without a parallel in our history. At any moment the Philippines may be dragged into the whirlpool of violence and suffering into which many lands and peoples have been thrown. Any day may see our own people plunged into the abyss of conflict from which will issue consequences that none can foretell but which will vitally affect our lives, our ideals, and our future destiny.

Our celebration of the birthday of our beloved leader this year has, therefore, an extraordinary significance. It symbolizes a triumph of Philippine democracy; it means that the country rejoices because it has, in this hour of crisis, availed itself again of the services of its peerless leader; it signifies that the nation, after making certain that all its elements

will have the best possible leadership, is ready for any eventuality. Truly, then, the hour and the occasion are of historic importance.

As one familiar with his struggles and his triumphs, his rise from a humble youth to the leadership of his people, his patriotism and his spirit of service, his love of home and family, and his possession of those human qualities that have made him the idol of his people, I cannot help thinking that the events of the last few days and the depths, spontaneity, and sincerity of the people's rejoicing over his natal day must evoke mixed feelings from the heart of our Chief Executive.

He cannot but feel gratified over the manifestations of love, gratitude, and confidence that have come from every nook and corner of the land; yet he must contemplate with a heavy heart the enormous burden that the people insist he should carry so that the interests of the nation may be as safe as the human mind and the human will can make them. But, such is his patriotism and his spirit of service, that no matter how hard the task or how heavily the load may weigh on his spirit, he cannot refuse to serve his people.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Tonight, the 63rd anniversary of the birth of our beloved Chief Magistrate, His Excellency, President Manuel L. Quezon, I make bold to express to him, in behalf of almost 17,000,00 men, women, and children in these Islands, our heartfelt congratulations for the renomination awarded to him by his Party, as a result of an insistent and irresistible public demand, our warmest felicitations on his birthday, and our best wishes for many more years of health, happiness and success.

QUEZON THE LEADER*

by Miguel Cuenco

MY PERSONAL and official relations with Manuel L. Quezon began in the year 1932 when, upon his return to the Philippines after a long illness in Monrovia, California, I was introduced to him at his house on Roberts Street, Pasay, by Manuel A. Roxas, Speaker of the House of Representatives. I was then serving my first term in the House as Representative of the 5th Congressional District of Cebu. The last time I saw him was in Iloilo City in early year 1942. He was with the Lopez brothers (Eugenio and Fernando), on his way to Washington, D.C., accompanied by his lady, Doña Aurora, his children and his aide, Col. Manuel Nieto. The last message I received from him was a radiogram he sent from America to my late brother, Mariano Jesus Cuenco, and myself, through the headquarters of Col. Ruperto K. Kangleon, the resistance chief for Leyte and Samar, in April 1944. The message read: "Congratulations on your heroic patriotism. Signed President Quezon."

In July 1942, my brother and I sent President Quezon, from the mountains of Mindanao, a long handwritten report on the situation of the Philippines during the first months of the Occupation. Neither my brother nor I asked for any rank or position in the guerilla forces or any monetary compensation, knowing that whatever we could do for our Motherland would pale into insignificance compared with the sacrifices of Rizal, Burgos, Lopez Jaena and the other Filipino greats who fell in the night. The message that my brother and I received from President Quezon was enough acknowledgment and compensation. General MacArthur acknowledged receipt of my war reports when my brother and I visited him at his headquarters in Manila shortly after the Liberation.

* Reprinted from the Philippine Free Press, August 24, 1968, pp. 10, 55-57.

Quezon's personality has left a lasting influence upon our national life. He was a surveyor and a lawyer. He received his degree of *perito agronomo* from Colegio de San Juan de Letran. It is not surprising, therefore, that shortly before the war, he caused the construction of the Quezon Bridge and the Quezon and the Aurora boulevards in Manila and the establishment of the ever progressive and expanding city which is named after him.

He was a leader of great self-respect, sense of dignity and honor. From 1934 up to the outbreak of the war, I was the chairman of the House and National Assembly Committee on Public Works. In the early days of the Commonwealth regime, it was proposed that some public works projects to be included in the annual bill be financed by the issuance of P20 million public bonds. The newspaper reported that Auditor General W. Jones had criticized the proposal. This irked Quezon, who considered Jones' opposition an undue interference in our purely domestic affairs. He sent President Franklin D. Roosevelt a long radiogram, voicing his protest against Mr. Jones' attitude.

To forestall future possible friction, President Quezon asked Roosevelt that the American government find a way to give complete independence to the Philippines within one year, instead of waiting for the termination of the 10-year transition period prescribed by the Tydings-McDuffie Law. President Quezon informed me later that President Roosevelt's answer was that so many laws, plans and arrangements concerning Philippine-American relations were predicated on the 10-year transition period that the United States would prefer to abide by it.

It was my impression that President Quezon accepted the 10-year transition period of the Tydings-McDuffie Law because he could not get from the American Congress a better bill at that time. As far as he was concerned, the Filipino people were ready for independence in the same year the aforesaid Act was approved.

In the first months of the Commonwealth, but before the Jones incident, when he was organizing the National Economic Council entrusted with the function of helping the President shape the economic and financial policies of the government, I wrote him a letter suggesting that Dr. Salvador Araneta be appointed one of the members of the Council. He summoned me at once to Malacañang. He was not questioning Araneta's qualification as an economist, he said, but he could not appoint him because the latter was for the reexamination of the idea of independence for the Filipinos and for the indefinite continuation of the Commonwealth status. Araneta might conceivably obstruct the President's plan for accelerating the granting of independence before the end of the 10-year transition period.

Prominent, well-meaning Filipinos of unquestioned patriotism were in favor of reexamination, among whom were the former Floor Leader of the First National Assembly, Representative Jose E. Romero, of Negros Oriental; Representative Narciso Ramos of Pangasinan (the present Secretary of Foreign Affairs); Cebu Provincial Governor Hilario Abellana; and a number of well-known capitalists, industrialists and hacenderos. President Quezon, although against the reexamination, respected the right of its advocates to propagate their ideas and enlist the support of public opinion. I personally was against the reexamination, although many of its outstanding leaders and supporters were my closest personal friends, to whom I was deeply attached.

What knowledge I have of history has convinced me since my student days of the truth that no people subjected to a foreign power could ever attain full growth and progress. I wrote the Resolution of the National Assembly, with minor corrections introduced by the Majority Floor Leader, Don Quintin Paredes, reaffirming the determination of the Filipino people to achieve absolute independence. Both of us co-authored the Resolution. I sponsored it on the floor of the Assembly and it was passed by an overwhelming majority. Nevertheless, whether independence or a Commonwealth status was the best for the country, it was an abstract question

which could be answered only in the future. Notwithstanding my profound personal conviction, in a spirit of respect and tolerance for the opposite view, I suggested to the champions of the reexamination movement to translate their manifestos, speeches and propaganda materials into the principal dialects and distribute them throughout the length and breadth of the country. I myself made the translation into Visayan Cebuano.

In his long fight in the United States for our independence and for the recognition of our national rights, Manuel L. Quezon championed our cause with dignity and honor. He had no use for subservience, nor did he show any sign of inferiority complex—thus did he catch the attention and earn the admiration of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, one of the greatest figures in American history. In the years since Liberation, no Filipino leader has emerged with Quezon's high qualifications to pursue our interests in relation to the United States.

In recent years, for instance, the American government has given the Philippines and Japan aid in the form of millions of dollars for the printing of textbooks to be used in the public schools of both countries. In Japan, textbooks are printed by the Japanese themselves, but paid by the United States, whereas textbooks for the Philippines are printed by American publishing firms. The Japanese fought for the printing arrangement they now enjoy. The Filipinos did not. We cannot expect the Americans to think and work for us, Filipinos.

If Quezon had no inferiority complex in his dealings with the leaders of the mightiest nation that the world has ever known, he had the same feeling of absolute self-confidence in his relations with the most notable Filipino leaders and statesmen. He never allowed the intellectual superiority of any other Filipino political leader to overshadow or overwhelm him. Osmeña, Aguinaldo, Aglipay, Sumulong, Roxas, Recto, Paredes, Diokno, Aquino, the Sotto brothers, Singson

Encarnacion, Rodriguez, Montinola and others were, at one time or another, Quezon's political collaborators.

President Quezon confided to me that he had no "personal affection" for Manuel A. Roxas and Benigno Aquino, Sr., but that he recognized them as brilliant and able public officials. It would be a disservice to our country, he said, not to appoint them as Secretary of Finance and Secretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources, respectively.

Complementing Quezon's sense of superiority was his noble and generous heart, which made him forget and forgive past offenders and past offenses. He was magnanimous in victory. His reconciliation with his political enemies was sincere, without any sediment of rancor or mental reservations.

He believed passionately in government as the expression and instrument of national solidarity. He knew that only in sustaining your brother can you hope to sustain yourself. The Commonwealth was an era of goodwill, harmony and mutual political sympathy and understanding. Quezon became the strongest political leader the country has ever known and very likely may ever know in the generations to come. The conservatives and the radicals, the capitalists and laborers, rich and poor, Catholics, Protestants, Aglipayans, Knights of Columbus and Masons were for him.

A narrow partisanship incapable of obtaining the active collaboration of able men in the opposing party is prejudicial to the national interest. The poor performance of the Filipino panel at the Bangkok conference on the Sabah controversy, as reported by Quijano de Manila (FP, Aug. 3), is a valuable lesson to us. As in the conduct of lawsuits, where a sensible party employs the best lawyer, uses the best witness and presents the best documents as evidence, our country should have sent to Bangkok its best men, like Senators Salonga, Tolentino, Diokno, Tañada, former Senator Sumulong, Congressmen Enverga and Pelaez. Moreover, the officials of our Department of Foreign Affairs should have prepared themselves long ago by conducting an intensive re-

search on Sabah, in the same manner that Egyptian scholars studied the Suez Canal question at the Sorbonne and other French universities long before the crisis over this important waterway exploded in 1956.

The ill-effects of a narrow partisanship are likewise evident in Congress. The Liberal leadership in the House of Representatives bypassed a bill that I had presented in 1962, based on an extensive study made by Dr. Salvador Araneta, embodying a bold and comprehensive program of construction by the government of houses for the low income sectors of our population. The LPs gave way instead to a bill of the Macapagal administration appropriating the relatively insignificant amount of P15 million for housing projects, mostly in Manila and suburban districts.

One year before the 100th anniversary of the birth of Apolinario Mabini, I filed a bill appropriating P2 million for the printing and free distribution of the Memoirs of the Brains of the Philippine Revolution in their original Spanish version and translated into English and the main Filipino languages. To ensure the passage of a compromise measure, Speaker Jose B. Laurel, Jr. and I presented a modified bill, reducing the appropriation to half a million pesos. This modest bill, was passed by the House but the Committee on Education in the Senate, headed by a Liberal, a daughter of an illustrious patriot and Mabinista at that, did not even report the bill to the Senate. Mr. Laurel and I are Nacionalistas. This explains why the above-mentioned two bills were frozen by the Liberal leaders in Congress.

We have to oppose our antagonist's ideas with better ideas. Truth is distilled from free and intelligent discussion. President Quezon adhered to this principle in his dealings with my humble self as a legislator.

For one reason or another, which I never came to know, President Quezon did not include any appropriation for the nation's military trainees in the budget he had submitted to the National Assembly. I announced on the floor of the Assembly that I would speak against this aspect of the Ap-

propriation Bill. The announcement caused some embarrassment to the Majority Floor Leader, Don Quintin Paredes, for whom I have always entertained the greatest admiration and respect. It also embarrassed some members of my family, considering that my brother Mariano Jesus was an outstanding leader of Mr. Quezon's party. They tried to dissuade me from delivering my speech against the bill. They were afraid that the President would resent my speech.

But I proceeded with my speech. In doing so I was only fulfilling what I considered my duty to our country. First of all, I had to be consistent with myself. In February 1939, the Committee on Naval Affairs of the United States Senate had disapproved an appropriation for the fortification of Guam. So on March 1, 1939, I delivered a speech on the floor of the National Assembly, drawing the attention of our government and people to the need for military preparedness. I considered the elimination of the appropriation for the trainees a serious disruption of our military preparedness program.

It was argued by the legislators who opposed the appropriation for the trainees that the latter should first be taught how to read and write before being given military training on the ground that many of them were illiterates. I replied that the alleged illiteracy was inconsequential. Many of the signatories of the Declaration of Human Rights of the French Revolution could not write. They merely placed a cross on their names. My speech was published in full in some metropolitan newspapers. I gave President Quezon a copy of the speech. He was not offended at all. On the contrary, he congratulated me.

Sectionalism is one of the evils which have plagued the administration of Filipino Chief Executives or the leadership of Filipinos who have held positions of power and influence since the beginning of this century. President Quezon did not practice sectionalism, nor did Don Sergio Osmeña. True, Osmeña and Quezon did appoint a few of their provincemates to government positions. But they had devoted political fol-

lowers from all regions of the country. Quezon abhorred the practice of bureau directors who recruited their subordinate personnel from their provinces or regions. In his view, sectionalism was the mark of a tribal form of government, devoid of a national outlook. It was also a manifestation of an inferiority complex on the part of the high official who appointed men whose only credentials were their being his *paisanos*.

I have family roots in the Tagalog region and in Pasay. My maternal ancestors came from Manila. My forebears, on my father side, came from Capiz and Iloilo. I am related to the late Doña Rosa Sevilla de Alvero, an educator, orator, writer, independence and social leader. Her son Jesus was a topnotcher in the architects' examination. My brother was at that time the Secretary of Public Works, appointed by President Quezon. I had personally recommended to President Quezon the appointment of Jesus to a position in the Bureau of Public Works. I told the President that I had to bother him because Alvero was my relative and if my brother appointed him, both of us would be open to the charge of nepotism.

The President gave Alvero a letter recommending him to the Director of Public Works but the matter didn't end there. Nepotism, he pointed out to me, is an obnoxious government practice if the appointed relative is not qualified, but it would be unjust not to appoint brilliant and deserving persons just because they are relatives of the appointing officer. Nepotism, as clarified by President Quezon, is indeed responsible for the presence of misfits in many government officers on the national, provincial and municipal levels.

Quezon had a strong sense of justice. He had no patience with public officials who abused their authority, with judges who rendered unjust or prejudicial decisions. His sense of justice impelled him to protect even his enemies against oppression or persecution from his own partymen.

The Philippine Senate elected in 1931 was dominated by a political bloc headed by the late Senators Aquino, Quirino

and Arranz. The election of Senator Alejo Mabanag of La Union, a political foe of Mr. Quezon, was protested by De Guzman of Pangasinan who had the support of the ruling bloc. Quezon's health was so poor then that sometimes it was difficult for him to stand up. He was told that the election protest against Mabanag would be decided in favor of De Guzman, not on the basis of the recorded evidence, but on the sheer power and influence of the bloc.

He was carried on a stretcher to the Senate where he argued vigorously and uncompromisingly that only justice, strict justice be accorded Mabanag. He saved Mabanag from certain ouster. I encountered a similar difficulty in the House of Representatives. This had to do with Hilario Abellana, mayor of what was then the town (now city) of Cebu, who, after due investigation, was found guilty of a serious anomaly, and dismissed by the Provincial Board headed by my brother, Governor Mariano Jesus Cuenco. The dismissal was affirmed by Governor General Davis.

The 1934 election, a very bitter political battle in Cebu, was held on the issue of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill. The men of the political group headed by my brother were against the HHC Act. We were called the Antis, led by Senate President Quezon. Those who favored the Act were called the Pros, headed by Senator Osmeña and Speaker Roxas. The result of the election in Cebu was inconclusive. Our entire provincial ticket, headed by Governor Cuenco, lost by about 2,500 votes. Thirty-four municipal presidents and five candidates of the Antis for representative were elected, as against two representatives belonging to the Pros. The election of Abellana as representative of the Second Congressional District was protested, by one-time Representative Tomas Alonso. The main reason for the protest against Abellana was that he had been dismissed for cause as municipal president. He was thus barred from the position of representative. The Antis moved to stop Abellana from taking his oath of office.

Abellana's case was assigned to a House electoral committee of which I was head. At a caucus of Anti senators

and representatives presided over by President Quezon, I reported that American precedents were on Abellana's side. Moreover, his majority had been overwhelming. President Quezon commended my stand and my committee dismissed the protest against Abellana.

President Quezon was an avid student of international affairs. When the Second World War broke out early in September 1939, he invited the eminent historian Dr. Encarnacion Alzona and myself to a dinner conference at Malacañan Palace. From 7 p.m. to midnight, we discussed the world situation. The Chief Executive relied on Dr. Alzona for information on Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, countries which she had visited. Concerning Japan, Quezon admitted that he had miscalculated Japanese foreign policy. He thought that out of prudence, the Japanese should have limited themselves to the conquest and exploitation of Manchuria, a country the size of Canada and rich in agricultural and mineral resources. They could have used Manchuria as a powerful industrial base, but they had gone on to invade China.

President Quezon asked me why the Japanese soldier was brave. I answered that one reason for Japanese bravery was their profound belief in the life hereafter. The President agreed, waxing eloquent on how such belief lightened man's burden of many earthly problems and drove him to acts of sublime sacrifice.

He condemned the dictatorial policies of Hitler. However, the President thought that Nazi Germany was not totally unjustified in her grievances against England, a small country in territorial area but controlling at that time about two-thirds of the world's natural resources. Any unequal distribution of the world's wealth, he said, is always a source of war. He was aware of the Anglo-Saxon predominance, if not monopoly, of the oil riches of the Middle East. More than 20 years after the end of the last World War, Quezon's observation about the Middle East remains valid. The Arab nations led by President Nasser of Egypt and aligned against England have the support of Russia and France. If present tensions

are not resolved, a major war will break out in the Middle East, sooner or later.

Quezon was an intense personality radiating human warmth. He was essentially a grateful man. In the National Assembly, he was attacked by Assemblyman Camilo Osias on account of the appointment of a judge. Quezon could hardly restrain his anger at the solon from La Union. Several months after the incident, Quezon told me that he could "destroy" Osias if he wanted to, but instead he was looking for a position to which Osias could be appointed. He owed Osias a debt of gratitude which he could never forget. In his younger days, while in America, he had suffered from a dangerous type of neurasthenia which urged him to jump from high buildings. Osias had taken care of him with the utmost solicitude.

He was, among other things, a musician and a good dancer. He liked to see beautiful women and handsome men. Ugliness in men and women he found repulsive. He also had a sardonic sense of humor. As president of the Commonwealth, he made a state visit to Mexico and Cuba. In Havana, he met Fulgencio Batista, the army lieutenant-turned-dictator. Batista said he wanted to discuss social justice with the Filipino President.

Manuel L. Quezon quickly eyed the dictator from head to foot. Quite rightly, he did not consider Batista the right person with whom anyone could talk about social justice—an estimate that has since been confirmed by Cuban history. To evade a conversation on the subject, President Quezon politely asked the dictator: "**Puedo ofrecerle un cigarillo?**"

THE CHARACTER OF MANUEL L. QUEZON*

By Encarnacion Alzona

MANUEL L. QUEZON'S public career began in 1899 when he enlisted in the Philippine Revolutionary Army, attaining the rank of major. It ended on 1 August 1944 when he died at Saranac Lake, New York, as President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

Soon after the capture of General Emilio Aguinaldo at Palanan on 23 March 1901, which marked the downfall of the First Philippine Republic, Major Quezon surrendered and took his oath of allegiance to the United States at Mariveles before Lieut. Lawrence S. Miller. In the following year he was admitted to the bar and shortly after drafted into the government service. He occupied successively the posts of Provincial Fiscal of Mindoro and later of Tayabas, Governor of Tayabas, Representative of Tayabas in the Philippine Assembly, Resident Commissioner at Washington, Senator, President of the Senate, and lastly President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, covering a period of a little over forty years.

This period of the history of the Philippines is of world interest. It witnessed an historical phenomenon of far-reaching influence—the dramatic rise of an oriental people from subjection to emancipation. The protagonist in that drama, who played his role with supreme artistry, was Manuel L. Quezon.

He made his debut on the public stage as a revolutionary, determined to fight with the sword for the independence of his country. That gallant attempt failed unfortunately. Reflecting on that memorable episode years later, he declared sadly that the Philippine-American War was suicide for the Filipino soldiers. Armed with obsolete rifles with very limit-

* Reprinted from the *Bulletin Ng Samahang Pangkasaysayan Ng Pilipinas*, July 1957, pp. 37-45.

ed supply of ammunition, poorly clad, and ill-fed the brave Filipino soldiers plunged into the battlefield to face an enemy with superior equipment and organization.

In the light of this tragic experience, he perceived that the Filipinos must win their freedom through peaceful methods. They had no other alternative. To this patriotic labor he was to devote the rest of his life. The success that crowned his effort could best be appreciated by a consideration of his character.

He was endowed with a brilliant mind and that mind was cultivated and disciplined by a classical education, by far the best preparation for public service. His classical training gave him a concept of the dignity of public office, which he upheld throughout his life. Several anecdotes bring out this admirable trait of his.

Doctor T. C. Wang, former Chinese Ambassador at Washington, D.C., met him at Shanghai when the boat taking him to the United States stopped at that port. After the dinner given in his honor, he returned to the boat, unlike the other members of his party who proceeded to a night club. Dr. Wang, who had known him in Washington, expressed surprise and asked him: "What's the matter? Have you reformed?" This was the President's reply: "My friend, I've lost my freedom. There are things Manuel Quezon enjoys doing but which President Quezon would not allow him to do."

He permitted no one to insult the dignity of his position. A chummy American who greeted him at a dance with a pat on the shoulder and a gay "Hi, Manuel!" was instantly rebuked by him.

Universally known was the incident which occurred at San Juan de Letran, his Alma Mater. At the alumni reunion held there on 7 November 1937, which he attended, the Franco Hymn was played. Immediately he rose and protested saying: "I did not come to this gathering as President of the Philippines; I came to this gathering as an alumnus of Letran. But the President of the Philippines cannot dissociate himself from the alumnus of Letran while he is President of the Phil-

ippines. For this reason, I cannot, as President of the Philippines, ignore acts committed in my presence that should not be committed."

"That Franco Hymn should not have been played here. The Franco Government is still unrecognized. The U.S. Congress has enacted a neutrality law and it is my duty to enforce that law in this country. . . What has happened has been a great mistake and a lack of consideration for the President of the Philippines."

Because of his respect for law and lofty concept of the dignity of public office he was swift in meting out punishment to an erring official even if he was a close friend or a strong political leader. His method of approach was direct. He confronted him with the facts of his case and rendered his decision on the spot. No protracted and elaborate investigations were needed by President Quezon to determine the guilt or innocence of a public official. He himself weighed the facts on hand and, if he was convinced that the person was guilty, he summoned him and told him so with his characteristic frankness, for he was endowed with a keen mind and boundless courage. The guilty official, knowing that he could not hoodwink the President, humbly bowed to his decision.

It was well known that he was equally intolerant of incompetent government officials. He dismissed them or gave them another assignment.

Thus, under President Quezon's administration, government officials were careful in the discharge of their duties. Their ability inspired confidence and their decorum commanded the respect of the public. At that time, unlike today (1956), private citizens did not regard everyone in the government service if not an actual crook or racketeer a potential one. It was then an honor to be a public servant.

By nature he was inclined to mercy and moderation. Towards his critics and adversaries he was magnanimous. He was a noble antagonist, never spiteful. The case of Rafael Palma was an illustration. As president of the State univer-

sity, he attacked President Quezon on his stand on the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law. President Quezon defended himself and won. Palma resigned from the university. Referring to this case, he declared to the delegation of Young Philippines that called on him at Malacañang on 29 September 1937: "I don't resent the fact that people are against me. The best proof is the case of President Palma. He created the belief that I was a traitor to the country, that I was a dangerous public man. I know that Palma believed in good faith what he said. He was attacking me because he thought he was right. I went after him. I defeated him, but I did not punish him. When I had a chance to do something for him, I did it, because I knew he could render service to the Government. And I am willing to give a chance to every man."

After the storm over the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law had abated and the bitterness it engendered had been dispelled, President Quezon appointed Palma chairman of the National Council of Education which carried a compensation of P12,000 a year.

President Quezon by profession was a lawyer, a brilliant lawyer. His legal training developed to a high degree his reasoning power, sharpened his perspicacity, and deepened his insight into human nature. Possessing a high regard for the legal profession, he openly condemned fellow lawyers who violated the ethics of their profession. The judiciary was the object of his particular attention. He was displeased with the politicians who recommended to him for judicial posts lawyers who lacked legal experience and integrity. At one time he criticized certain law professors of the State law college whom he believed were not qualified. The university president resented it. Informed of this, he said emphatically: "I've a right to express my opinion on that matter. I'm a lawyer and naturally interested in matters affecting my profession."

"Law," he told the law students of Santo Tomas University at their convocation held on 2 October 1937, "is not a business calling. It is a vocation, an apostleship of justice and fair dealing. The study of law requires also the study

of logic, psychology, and ethics. It requires especially the study of the philosophy of law. . . ." And he quoted in Latin the definition of law by St. Thomas Aquinas: "**Ordinatio rationis ad bonum comme ab eo sui curam, comunitatis habet promulgata,**" which in English is "An ordinance of reason for the common welfare, promulgated by those who govern the community." He was well versed in the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas and could quote passage from his *Summa Theologiae*.

He was courageous in the expression of his conviction. Attacked by some lawyers for his public criticism of some court decisions, he defended his stand by citing supporting arguments from American history: President Lincoln and the Dred Scott Case, President Jackson, President Theodore Roosevelt, and President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He said: ". . . you will see that there are ample precedents with which I could justify myself for criticizing judicial decisions. But I want to say frankly that, even if I did not have such precedents to follow, I would still not be silent in the face of what in my conscience I consider a wrong decision or an act of injustice. For, even assuming that under the theory of separation of powers and the postulate of judicial independence, the Chief Executive may in no case utter a word in connection with acts of the other branches of the Government, I would still interpret my oath to 'do justice to every man' as imposing upon me the duty not only to do justice in cases where the decision rests with the Executive, but also to see that the other branches of the Government do not commit acts of injustice to any man." He continued: "This is not the first time that I have criticized a judge for doing what, in my opinion, is wrong. When a judge of the Court of First Instance on technical grounds, absolved a man who caused the death of his servant—an old woman—by inflicting upon her cruel punishment all night long, I denounced the judge on the floor of the Senate and succeeded later in getting him out of the judiciary. It will be recalled that I have dismissed a judge from office, despite the fact that the Supreme Court only recommended that he be allowed to resign, when I found out that said recommendation was pre-

dedicated upon the findings of the Supreme Court that he was guilty of charges preferred against him, including acts of abuse in the treatment of litigants and witnesses, especially the poor and the ignorant."

As Resident Commissioner in Washington he consistently advocated the granting of independence to his country when that question was unpopular in America. Nevertheless, his profound sincerity and courage won him the admiration and respect of Americans. They recognized in him a brilliant leader of his people, a faithful and courageous interpreter of their aspirations. One of his American admirers, the late distinguished professor William P. Shepherd at Columbia University, used to quote to his classes his reply to a question propounded to him by an American at a public forum when he was Resident Commissioner: "Mr. Quezon," the American asked, "what's the difference between the Nacionalista Party and the Democrata?" "Sir," Quezon replied, "the difference is this: the Nacionalista Party is in power; the Democrata Party wants to get into power." He was heartily applauded by the audience.

His personal magnetism was recognized by all, friend and foe alike. His manners were attractive, urbane. Handsome and poised, an eloquent speaker, he could hold the attention of his audience for hours. Doctor T. C. Wang pronounced him one of the world's foremost orators; and the popular American author Jonh Gunther wrote about him the following: "One could list many of the sources of Quezon's power. For instance, he is indisputably the best orator in the Islands in any of three languages: English, Spanish, or Tagalog."

It was not his eloquence alone but the substance of what he said and the manner in which he said it that made him an excellent public speaker. When he rose to speak, he had something worthwhile to say, and he possessed the rare gift of expressing his ideas in simple but forceful language and with profound earnestness.

Another quality that endeared him to many was his sense of gratitude. Those who had in any way helped him in for-

mer years became the recipient of his favors, his kindness and consideration. He was especially solicitous about the aged and the poor. It was his genuine concern for the lot of the poor that led him to launch a programme of social justice. On the second anniversary of the establishment of the Commonwealth, 15 November 1937, he gladly approved the bill providing for the abolition of the *cedula* tax because that tax was a burden to the poor. To the members of the National Assembly who witnessed the ceremony of the signing of that bill at Malacañang he declared: "I desire to congratulate you on the enactment of this Bill, which I am about to sign, abolishing the *cedula* tax. This is a tax which has been borne by our people for centuries. It has caused untold hardships to those who earn hardly enough to make a living and it constituted one of the serious grievances of our people against the Spanish Government."

On that same occasion, speaking at the Luneta in Tagalog, he announced the new principle of taxation that would henceforth guide his administration. Translated into English he said: "From now on, no tax shall be collected that will not be based on the ability of the tax-paying public to pay. Until now the poor are heavily taxed in our country. The rich may say that they are paying more taxes, because sometimes they are paying thousands of pesos in taxes but I am prepared to agree with anybody who is paying this much that if he gave me the wealth from which he derives his income to pay his taxes to the government, I would pay taxes twice as much. What the rich pay for taxes are only taken from their surplus, but the poor get their money to pay their taxes from their means of subsistence and the subsistence of their families. The sacred duty of the citizens is to support their government. What I mean to say is that the taxes that they should pay must be based on their ability to pay. For example, by the abolition of the *cedula* tax do the poor people think they are not paying any taxes? No. Is it not true that if today a poor man buys cloth and orders a suit to be made, coming from Europe or America, he pays taxes based on the value of the cloth? That is why I say that the great

portion of the collections realized from internal revenue taxes comes from the poor, although the rich also pay their taxes.

"So there will be equality between the rich and the poor in the payment of their taxes, I will ask the National Assembly to impose more taxes upon the wealthy class because they are in a position to pay. In this way, taxes will not be a burden to anybody and it would not be difficult for the Government to work out its problems."

In his message to the National Assembly on 24 January 1938, he emphasized the importance of social justice. He said: "We are earnestly concerned with social justice. Without a strict application of social justice to all elements of the community, general satisfaction of the people with their government is impossible to achieve. Here, in the just and equitable solution of social problems, is the real test of the sufficiency of democracy to meet present-day conditions of society."

Because President Quezon did not belong to the category of those who follow the saying, "Do as I say and not as I do," he applied the principles of social justice to the tenants of his 200-hectare farm in Arayat, Pampanga, thus setting a wholesome example to other landlords. His property became a model farm.

President Quezon is also admired for his mastery of the difficult art of handling men, including scheming politicians. His dramatic instinct, experience of political life, and profound knowledge of human nature gave him a decided advantage in any political struggle. With considerable ease he could make his partisans follow gladly his wishes, render his opponents politically impotent and convert them into his followers. Defeat was unknown to him; he was always a winner. Possessing these valuable qualities he would have been a national leader in any country of the world.

Perhaps less known to the general public was his artistic taste. As a student at San Juan de Letran College, he studied the piano, attaining enough proficiency in the art of playing that instrument to contribute a piano selection to a literary-

musical programme by the school. In his day he was the best ballroom dancer. Under his direction Malacañang Palace was remodelled and the grounds beautified. He loved the venerable trees growing in the grounds surrounding the place. How indignant he was when the architect in charge of remodelling the building announced to him that in order to execute his plan one of those trees must go. He ordered him to alter his plan to save the tree. The result is artistic. That tree is now in the center of a tiny patio.

He had an affectionate nature. He was devoted to his wife whom he adored and to his children. He could have married any beauty and heiress in the Philippines or abroad; but he did not. When the time came for him to establish his own family, he sought the hand of an obscure but virtuous beauty of Baler, his native town, his cousin Miss Aurora Aragon.

The radiant personality of Quezon illuminated his time. He was the commanding figure of his epoch, memorable for the gathering of our nationalist forces which were to lead to the establishment of our present Republic. Well might it be christened the Quezon Era.

MANUEL L. QUEZON AS RESIDENT COMMISSIONER (1909-1916)*

By Gabriel F. Fabella

MANUEL L. QUEZON'S role as one of the two Filipino Resident Commissioners to the United States during the period 1909-1916, is relatively unknown. And yet if one would like to explain partly why he is sometimes referred to as the "Father of the Filipino Nationalist Movement" during the American tenure in the Islands, or better still, the "Architect of Philippine Independence" under America, he cannot ignore but point out Quezon's political career as Filipino Resident Commissioner to the United States from 1909-1916.

Quezon served in this capacity for three successive terms. He was first elected to the position, succeeding Pablo Ocampo de Leon, on May 15, 1909, and was re-elected thereto in 1911, 1913, and 1915. Like his colleague, Benito Legarda, his official function as a Resident Commissioner was to give pertinent information to the United States Congress about the real conditions in the Philippines in order that the body could legislate wisely and constructively for the colonial government in the Philippines. But Commissioner Quezon went beyond that duty by conducting in the United States a campaign for immediate, complete and absolute Philippine independence. Even before leaving the Islands for Washington, D.C. to assume his post, he, together with some Filipino nationalist leaders, had already rightly recognized that the best way to carry out an effective fight for early Philippine independence was to influence American public opinion and the United States Congress. For the former was, and still is, a potent factor in determining policies of the American government and the latter was the body that would ultimately decide the question of Philippine independence.

* Paper read at a symposium held on August 17, 1962, in the U.P. College of Arts and Sciences Theater. Reprinted from the **Historical Bulletin**, 1962, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 253-258.

Having been sworn in as a courtesy member of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, Commissioner Quezon busied himself mastering the English language in order to be able to deliver speeches in English. He hired a tutor, but realizing that the process was very slow, he gave up after finishing fifteen lessons. Instead, he taught himself by reading books, newspapers, and magazines with the help of an English-Spanish dictionary, and also by attending social gatherings without any one with him to act as his interpreter.

On May 14, 1910, about five months after his arrival in the American capital, Quezon delivered his maiden speech in the lower house of the United States Congress. He reviewed in detail the splendid work of the United States Government in the Philippines, expressing his people's gratitude. He also appealed to the pride, patriotism, and devotion to the principles of liberty and self-government of the American people. But then he added the reminder that in spite of all the good things done by America in his country, the Filipinos preferred to be free and independent. He declared:

All this we acknowledge; for all this we are thankful; for all this we are grateful to your Government and to your people. But, Sir, despite it all, the Filipinos are not, as yet, a happy people. Would you ask me why? Then, I will answer in the language of that great apostle of human freedom, Daniel Webster:

'No matter how easy may be the yoke of a foreign power, no matter how lightly it sits upon the shoulders, if it is not imposed by the voice of his own nation and of his own country, he will not, he cannot, and he means not to be happy under its burden.'

These words, to us Mr. Chairman, are freedom's text and rallying cry. We feel their truth deep in our souls, for it is the vital spark of our national hope. . .

On the whole his address was mild in tone, and the Filipino nationalists who expected him to make an impassioned harangue in favor of immediate independence, were somewhat disappointed. But Quezon knew that he was in Washington to persuade and not to insult and, therefore, he had

to act accordingly. The character of the independence campaign he was to undertake—conciliatory in form, but direct and determined in substance — was thus reflected in his speech.

Quezon made the United States Congress his real field of action for his campaign. On the floor of the House of Representatives, he delivered speeches and vigorously participated in the debates every time the subject of Philippine independence was the issue. On one occasion, when he had an opportunity to inform his colleagues in Congress why the grant of independence to the Philippines rather than incorporation of the Philippines as a state of the Union would be a wise and just policy for the American government to pursue, he said:

American policy regarding the Philippines must be based upon the theory that the United States by its traditions, by its history, and institutions, and by the principles which constitute the very foundation of its national life, cannot consistently hold colonies against the avowed will of the inhabitants thereof. Therefore, that policy to be truly American must contemplate as a final outcome either statehood or independence.

Statehood for the Philippines is not desirable, either from the standpoint of the American or from that of the Filipino. Differences in race, customs, interests, and the thousands of miles of water which separate both countries, are insurmountable obstacles to Philippine statehood.

Perhaps he delivered his most eloquent speeches, pleading for what he called the "holy cause," the independence of his people, when the United States Congress was considering the Jones Bill. Every day from 26 September to 14 October, 1914, he spoke on the floor often times defending the independence bill; and at other times clarifying some unpleasant remarks of his colleagues. In one of the sessions, he got into a heated debate with Congressman Simon D. Fess of Ohio. Congressman Fess asked Quezon whether he believed that the Filipinos, without the aid of the Americans, could have made the progress they showed since the beginning of American rule in the Philippines. Quezon made no answer, but when it was impatiently demanded, he finally answered in the af-

firmative, causing much discomfort and embarrassment to the American solon.

Fully aware that he should also influence American public opinion in order to carry out his campaign more successfully, he spoke before American audiences outside the United States Congress. Under the sponsorship of the Anti-Imperialist League, he traveled through the different states in the American Union, taking every opportunity to speak on the actual conditions in the Philippines. At the same time, he tried to remind the American people that, through their Congress, they had the moral duty to enact a law giving the Filipinos their independence. Speaking before the Chamber of Industry of Cleveland, Ohio, on April 14, 1914, Commissioner Quezon stated that the Filipinos were unanimous in their desire for independence, and that the argument of their incapacity to exercise it was merely a reason of those who wanted to retain the Islands for the protection as well as for the advancement of their interests. He declared:

We all want independence and are entitled to it. The argument of Filipino incapacity for self-government is hypocritical. It is the veil with which American office-holder covers his desire to keep his place. It is the ambush behind which lurk the company which monopolizes our hemp, and the sugar interests, which have already acquired, in defiance to Congress, 65,000 acres of land in one tract. . . Or at best it is the wish father to the thought of some missionaries or churchmen who mistakenly think that they can make more converts among the wild men of the Philippines.

Aside from speaking tours, Commissioner Quezon attended national conventions and popular gatherings of political parties. In 1912, when the Democratic Party members convened in Baltimore to select their presidential standard bearer, Quezon personally appeared before the Platform Committee and helped in the writing of the plank of the platform dealing with Philippine independence. He also gave banquets to cultivate the friendship of the Democratic Party leaders, especially those who were occupying positions influential in Philippine affairs.

To influence American public opinion further, he wrote campaign articles for American magazines and newspapers. Not satisfied with this, he founded his own periodical entitled **The Filipino People** in September, 1912. According to him, the organ was intended to be "an official medium for expressing the views of the people whose name it bears and designed to bring about a better understanding in the Philippines and in the United States of the real conditions which exist in both countries." The paper continued publication for four years and was terminated when the passage of the Jones Bill by the United States Congress in August, 1916, was certain.

So vigorous and spirited indeed was his campaign for immediate, complete and absolute Philippine independence that, at times, Commissioner Quezon was misunderstood by those elements who opposed him. On one occasion, he was denounced in Congress by Representative Austin of Tennessee of using money and banquets in order to gain the support of the Congressional leaders. At another instance, he was openly warned by General Edwards, then chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, that should he insist on continuing his independence campaign, every effort would be taken to retire him from the resident commissionership.

Undaunted, however, by the charges and the threats hurled at him, he continued his campaign, giving greater vigor to it when the Democratic Party came into power in 1913.

As a consequence of his untiring efforts, Commissioner Quezon was able to obtain results which, though not as much as what he really wanted—immediate, complete and absolute independence—were of great political significance in so far as preparing the Filipinos in the art of self-government. In 1913, he secured from President Wilson the appointment of Representative Francis B. Harrison of New York as governor-general of the Islands. Governor Harrison's administration later proved to be a significant phase in the Filipino struggle for independence. For it gave substance to the Democratic Party's pledge of Philippine independence by converting the colonial government of Americans aided by Filipinos under the Republicans into a government of Filipinos aided by

Americans. Believing that the only way to teach the Filipinos the art of self-government was to let them exercise it, he rapidly filipinized the government civil service. In fact, Governor Harrison even went to the extent of virtually abandoning his executive powers in order to give the Filipino leaders in the government ample freedom to conduct their own governmental affairs.

A more significant achievement was the Jones Law¹¹ which, Quezon, himself, considered as the "crowning glory" of his work as resident commissioner. How he was able to obtain the enactment of the law from the United States Congress cannot be told in just a few words. Suffice it to say, however, that he had to use all the influence of his office as resident commissioner, his persuasive eloquence, and his enviable personal magnetism. The difficulties he met and overcame could be imagined by realizing that it took him seven years to convince the United States Congress to approve the law.

The Jones Law provided substantial changes in the administrative structure of the Philippine Government which, in effect, would give greater political responsibility to the Filipinos. The preamble of the Law declared it to be "the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence therein." This feature of the law made it the first act of the United States Congress relating to the government in the Islands which explicitly set forth a qualified promise of eventual independence. For that reason, the Law was held with great political significance by the Filipinos.

From the foregoing discussion, it is, therefore, very apparent that Manuel L. Quezon's role as a resident commissioner is not at all without significance. For as such, he was the first Filipino Resident Commissioner to serve not only as a mere encyclopedia, giving information to the United States Congress about the real conditions in the Philippines, but as a true and dedicated agent of his people to work for their immediate, complete and absolute independence. Although he failed to accomplish that objective of bringing home an

independence law which would grant early and unconditional Philippine independence, yet, in a sense, he succeeded in his work. He was able to lay the groundwork for the later campaign for Philippine independence in the United States. Aside from that, he obtained some political concessions from the American government which, to a large extent, enhanced the capacity of his people to maintain their own self-government. More significant, however, was that having secured the approval of the Jones Law in 1916, he, in effect, gave greater impetus to the later independence movement which ultimately led to the attainment of our freedom from the United States in 1946.

Encouraged by the conditional promise of independence embodied in the Jones Law, the Filipino Nationalists stepped up their campaign for independence. From 1919-1933, several independence missions were sent to the United States to convince the American Government that a stable government had already been established in the Philippines and, therefore, independence should be granted. Out of these missions, which were indicative of the more persistent and vigorous independence campaign after 1916, resulted the passage of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law and the Tydings-McDuffie Law, the latter becoming our historic Independence Law. Such being the case, it can be said that as resident commissioner, Manuel L. Quezon provided the generating force that led to our independence from the United States in 1946. Indeed, as resident commissioner, he planted the seed of independence, out of which grew a tree whose fruit has given us the freedom and independence that we enjoy today.

QUEZON AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE*

By Nicolas Zafra

August 19, this year, is the late Manuel L. Quezon's 100th birth anniversary. By this time, too, he has been dead 34 years.

Death is oblivion to ordinary mortals, but to Quezon it is a security of place in Philippine history. Future generations are not likely to forget him or any of the landmarks of his political career many of which are now important events of our contemporary history. Now is the time to indulge in fond recollection of the great events of Quezon's life. Admittedly, the outstanding episode of his life was his role in the campaign for Philippine independence—the "sacred cause" of the Filipino people.

The grand strategy for the campaign for independence was worked out by Sergio Osmeña during his incumbency as Speaker of the First Philippine Assembly. It called for two distinct courses of action: (1) for members of the Assembly to demonstrate their capacity for statesmanship through the high quality of their legislative labors, producing legislations evincing concern for the welfare of their people. This part of the strategy was meant to erase the impression then held by a considerable portion of the American people that the Filipinos lacked the capacity for self government. The other part of the strategy was aimed at winning and preserving the friendship, goodwill and sympathy of the American people toward the Philippines and the Filipino people and their aspirations for independence.

Quezon's role in the campaign for independence passed through two stages: (1) 1908-1923; and (2) 1923-1935. In the first stage, Quezon carried out his assignment in the campaign

* Reprinted from the 1978 Manuel L. Quezon Centennial Souvenir Program, pp. 41-48.

under the supreme command of Speaker Osmeña. In the second stage, as a result of the 1923 power struggle in the country, Quezon displaced Osmeña as leader in the campaign.

The first move in the independence campaign was the election by the Philippine Assembly of Quezon as Resident Commissioner in the United States. At the time of his election, Quezon was floor leader in the Assembly. In his actuations as a member of that body, he displayed a brilliant mind, a charming personality and a spirit of dedication to the cause of Philippine Independence.

In May 1910, Quezon delivered his maiden speech in the U.S. Congress. It was his initial move in the campaign for independence. In accordance with the campaign strategy laid down by Speaker Osmeña, Quezon conveyed the appreciation and gratitude of the Filipino people for all the benefits that they received from the United States. "My countrymen," he said, "are grateful, deeply grateful for all the benefits the U.S. Government has conferred upon them." But he reminded Congress of the Filipino people's aspiration for independence. "But despite all," he said with all the force of his eloquence, "we still want independence. . . Ask the bird, Sir, who is enclosed in a golden cage and the care of his owner if he would prefer his cage and the care of his owner to the freedom of the skies and the allure of the forest."

In 1912, the Democratic Party gained full control of the Government of the U.S. Resident Commissioner Quezon took advantage of this turn of events to secure a change in the governorship of the Philippines. W. Cameron Forbes was then Governor-General of the Philippines. He had an excellent record during his incumbency as a member of the Philippine Commission. He improved the means of travel and transportation in the country by building a network of good roads and bridges. Kennon Road which made Baguio with its healthful climate easily accessible from the lowlands is a monument to his administration. Moreover, he had close and friendly relations with the country's political leaders and prominent elements of Filipino society. But Resident Commissioner Quezon felt that it was his duty to secure a new

man for the governorship of the Philippines whose attitude towards the Filipino people's independence aspirations was unequivocally favorable and sympathetic. How he went about in pursuance of this purpose is told by Quezon himself in his autobiography as follows:

President Wilson one day summoned me to the White House and asked my opinion as to whether a new Governor General should be appoint or whether Governor General Forbes should be left in his post. To a Filipino, with Oriental ancestry, a little Spanish education—which practically all that I then had,—the question was very trying indeed. Friendship to me has a real meaning and personal favors are never forgotten. On the other hand, I had come to Washington to perform a sacred duty. I measured my words and gave President Wilson the following answer: "Mr. President, if it is your intention to disregard the Democratic platform and merely carry on the policies of the Republican Administration, then you can find no better man for the job than Governor General Forbes. If, on the contrary, you intend to take immediate steps, as in my opinion you should take, to make good the new historic commitment of your party to grant independence to the Philippines as soon as possible, then Governor Forbes can neither be the spokesman for nor executor of your policies in the Philippines.

As can well be seen from the above-quoted passage, Quezon's approach to the problem before him was admirable. It was a model of finesse which undoubtedly made a deep impression on President Wilson. In effect, President Wilson appointed Francis Burton Harrison as Governor General of the Philippines. He was a friend of Quezon. With his appointment Quezon had for sure something to do.

The administration of Harrison was a landmark in the history of America's colonial venture in the Far East. It was friendly, helpful and sympathetic toward the Filipinos and their political aspirations. He allowed the Filipinos through their political leaders to introduce changes and practices in the colonial government which expanded to the fullest extent possible Filipino participation in the administration of national affairs. Foremost among such changes was the creation upon the recommendation of the Filipino leaders of the Council of State. This body was composed

of the Governor General, members of the cabinet, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President of the Senate, and the floor leaders respectively of the House of Representative and of the Senate. Membership in the Council of State was renewable at the beginning of a three-year period. New members were chosen from the party which won in the last national election. The Council of State was supposedly to act as an advisory body to the Governor General. Actually, it was the supreme governing body of the Philippines.

Creation of the Council of State brought to the Philippine government a distinctive feature of the parliamentary system of government, namely, the union of the executive and legislative branches of government. Under the new arrangement, members of the cabinet could appear on the floor of the Legislature to explain or defend proposed measures relating to their respective offices, a practice common in a parliamentary system of government based on the principle of ministerial responsibility.

The Council of State gave the Filipinos an opportunity to experiment with a semi-parliamentary system of government. But Governor-General Wood did not look with favor upon the experiment. He believed it placed him as the representative of American sovereignty in a position of responsibility without the corresponding authority. Under the circumstances, a clash was inevitable between him and the Filipino leaders in the Council of State. In effect, a controversy over a case involving an American member of the police force of the City of Manila, which was under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, brought Governor Wood in a head-on collision with the Filipino leaders in the Council of State. As a result, the Filipino members of the Council of State resigned from that body. Governor Wood accepted their resignations. Subsequently, Governor Wood allowed the Council of State to go out of existence.

The administration of Wood was a dark day indeed for the cause of Philippine independence. Apart from the fact that Governor Wood was openly opposed to the Filipino people's independence aspirations, the permanent source of

funds for the expenses of the campaign for independence was cut down during his administration. The Philippine Independence Fund which the Philippine Legislature had created was, by a ruling of the Insular Auditor, Ben Wright, and, presumably on Wood's order, declared illegal. The Filipino people, thenceforth, had to provide through individual contributions funds for the campaign.

The death of Governor Wood (1926) gave the Filipinos an auspicious occasion to renew their efforts in the campaign for independence. The first important task awaiting them was to obtain the appointment of a suitable successor to Governor Wood. To attend to this matter, Quezon and Osmeña constituted themselves into a commission to go to the United States. Quezon's choice for the governorship of the Philippines was Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War during the presidency of William H. Taft. In their conference with President Coolidge, the Filipino Commissioners recommended Henry L. Stimson for the governorship of the Philippines. They visited William H. Taft, the first civil governor of the Philippines who was at the time Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, to ask his support for Stimson's appointment. They of course saw Stimson. Stimson at first would not at all consider the offer presented to him. But Quezon would not take "no" for an answer. Bringing to bear all his power of persuasion, he reminded Stimson of his own words that the government of the Philippines was a grave responsibility resting on the United States. Although Stimson did not give a word of acceptance, Quezon and Osmeña left the conference with Stimson fully confident that Stimson would not refuse the offer if it was officially presented to him. In effect, a few days later, they read in the newspapers that Henry L. Stimson had been appointed Governor General of the Philippines.

The case of Stimson is an interesting incident in the life of Quezon. It reveals a notable facet of his character. Quezon was fully aware of Stimson's opposition to Philippine independence and yet, surprisingly, he wanted him so much for the governorship of the Philippines. Quezon came to

know Stimson intimately when the latter visited the Philippines at the height of the controversy between Wood and the Filipino leaders in the government. With his keen perception of human character, Quezon saw the depth and sincerity of Stimson's concern for the safety and welfare of the Filipino people. Of Stimson, he said in his autobiography: "no representative of the U.S. in the Philippines had won my respect and even my personal affection than did Governor General Stimson."

As Governor General of the Philippines, Stimson won the friendship, good will and cooperation of the Filipino people. He revived the Council of State thereby reestablishing the semiparliamentary character of the Philippine government. Stimson's administration generated such a spirit of cooperation among his colleagues in the government that his name became synonymous with "cooperation."

But, to the great disappointment of many Filipinos, Governor Stimson did not stay long in his post. Soon after the inauguration of Hoover as President of the United States, Stimson was called back to Washington. He was made Secretary of State in the cabinet of President Hoover. At that time, ominous developments were taking place in Eastern Asia which caused no little concern to the Government of the United States. As Secretary of State, it was Stimson's responsibility to take adequate measures to safeguard America's interests in the Far East. Accordingly, he launched what has come to be known in American diplomatic history as the "Stimson Doctrine." The "Doctrine" gave notice to the world that the U.S. would not admit as legal any situation brought about by the violation of treaty agreements.

During the administration of President Hoover, a severe economic depression hit the U.S. Many sectors of the nation's economy felt its disastrous effects. Factories closed down, banks suspended their operations, millions of families suffered the loss of life's savings. The U.S. Government was asked urgently to provide remedial measures. Strangely enough, one suggested measure of relief was to grant independence to the Philippines. The reason behind the proposal

was that American industry would be relieved from the competition of duty-free products of the Philippines in the U.S. domestic trade.

Obviously, the situation in the United States was greatly favorable to the cause of independence. The Filipino leaders were not slow in taking advantage of the situation. A new mission was created composed of Senator Osmeña as chairman and Speaker Roxas as co-chairman. The OSROX as the Mission came to be known was instructed to obtain independence for the Philippines under the most favorable conditions.

In Congress many proposals were submitted for the solution of the Philippine problem. Out of these, one was finally framed which counted with the support of the majority of the members in both Houses of Congress. Known as the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill, the measure was approved by substantial majorities in both Houses of Congress. But Congress ignored the presidential veto and quickly repassed the Bill. As enacted by Congress, the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act bore the title Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law.

The Act provided for an institutional process in which successive steps were to be taken, namely: (1) the calling of a constitutional convention to frame a constitution for the Philippines (2) submission of the constitution to the people; (3) regulating trade relations between the U.S. and the Philippines; (4) withdrawal of American sovereignty following the expiration of a ten-year period; (5) imposition of duties after independence; and (6) acceptance of the Act by the Philippine Legislature.

The approval of the Independence Law was viewed as a glorious culmination of the Filipino people's historic struggle for liberation. Surprisingly, however, Quezon was not happy over it. He found certain provisions of the Law objectionable. One was that giving the U.S. the right to retain military and naval bases in the country. Another was that relating to commercial relations of the Philippines with the United

States. The retention of military and naval bases, Quezon pointed out, would give the Philippines the shadow not the substance of independence. As regards the commercial provisions, Filipino opposition was justified on historical grounds. When the U.S. imposed free trade upon the Philippines with the Payne-Aldrich Act, the Philippine Assembly opposed the move. It feared that free trade would eventually bind the Philippines to the U.S. with strong economic ties which would make it difficult for it to realize its independence ideal. For the U.S. now to grant independence to the Philippines without giving it reasonable time to adjust its economy to the conditions and realities of independence would be unjust to the Filipino people.

The Independence Act gave ties to a nationwide controversy in the Philippines. One group, the *Pros*, led by Osmeña and Roxas, called for acceptance of the Law. The *Antis*, led by Quezon clashed in a memorable debate. In speeches bristling with wit and punctuated with brilliant flashes of eloquences, they defended their respective positions on the Independence Law. In the House of Representatives, Roxas eloquently explained the merits of the Independence Law. When submitted to a vote in the Legislature, the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act was decisively rejected. The Legislature next resolved to send Quezon to the U.S. to ask for a modification of the Law or for the enactment of a new one more acceptable to the Philippines.

Many people at the time even among those who supported Quezon in the fight over the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act thought that the rejection of the Independence Law was a risky venture which exposed the cause of Philippine independence to the danger of indefinite postponement to an uncertain future if not of total loss. Quezon himself must have been aware of this danger. When he left for the U.S. in pursuance of his mission, it was certain that he knew he was carrying the burden of a great responsibility.

In Congress, the leaders who worked so hard for the passage of the Independence Law were no longer enthusiastic

over the Philippine problem. They were, understandably, irked by Quezon's seeming vacillation on the issue on independence for his country. Their attitude toward Quezon was cold if not openly hostile. In a confrontation between them and Quezon, Senator Joseph Robinson told Quezon, referring to the Independence Law, to "take it or leave it."

Quezon was not at all daunted by the hostile attitude of the Congress leaders. He bided his time. He wrote a memorandum for President Roosevelt on the objectionable features of the Independence Law. Next, he arranged with the White House for an appointment for him to see President Roosevelt.

In the White House conference, President Roosevelt told Quezon he agreed with Quezon's criticisms of the Independence Law. But he assured Quezon that the U.S. was willing to revise the law in a manner that would be just to both the American and the Filipino peoples. The President's assurance naturally pleased Quezon. It gave him good reason to claim that his mission was after all a success. In effect, shortly after the establishment of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, a Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs was created to study economic problems of Philippine independence and propose legislative changes. The Filipino membership in the Committee was headed by Jose Yulo, a well-known commercial law expert.

In pursuance of the Roosevelt-Quezon understanding, a new independence bill was drafted. Known as Tydings-Mc Duffie it passed both Houses of Congress and signed into law by President Roosevelt. On May 1, 1934, the Philippine Legislature formally accepted it. The institutional process was thereby set in motion that would lead eventually to independence for the Philippines in 1946. On November 15, 1935, the Commonwealth of the Philippines was set up with Quezon and Osmeña as President and Vice-President respectively. Both were reelected to their respective posts in 1940.

In 1943, the eight-year tenure of Quezon as fixed by the Constitution as amended was due to expire. Before the ex-

piration date arrived, Quezon gave notice of his desire to continue as President alleging that, in the emergency through which the Philippines was passing on account of the Japanese occupation of the country, the interests of the Filipino people required that the status quo as regards the presidency should be continued. Announcement of Quezon's intent gave rise to a serious crisis in the Philippine Government in exile. Osmeña, however, volunteered to refrain from claiming his right of succession to the presidency for the sake of national unity and out of regard for Quezon's physical condition. It was a magnificent gesture of abnegation on the part of Osmeña. It aborted the crisis. Together with Senator Tydings, Osmeña worked out a plan of action for the U.S. Congress whereby the status quo as regards the presidency of the Philippines was legally continued.

By that time, Quezon's health had greatly deteriorated. The ravages of tuberculosis had wrought havoc on his constitution. He was bed-ridden. He was dangerously close to the brink of death. Death finally came to him on August 1, 1944. It was a clear sunny day in mid-summer that dawned that day. Father Pacifico Ortiz, S.J., Quezon's chaplain, celebrated as usual mass for Quezon. The Gospel read at the mass was from the eighth chapter of Matthew. The passage happened to be one of Quezon's favorite readings from the Holy Scriptures. It tells the story of the centurion whose servant was seriously ill. He begged Jesus to come and heal him. Jesus said that he would come. Overwhelmed by Jesus' kindness, the centurion replied: "Sir, I am not worthy to have you come under my roof. Just say the word and my boy will be healed."

Shortly after the mass, news came over the radio of MacArthur's forces having made another landing which brought them more closely to the Philippines. The news greatly excited Quezon. In his excitement internal hemorrhage set in causing him to vomit blood. A few moments later, Quezon was dead. But he was happy in the thought that the day of liberation of his beloved country was near.

News of Quezon's death came to the Philippines through secretly hidden radio sets. The Filipino people deeply mourned the passing of their great leader. Not a few among them wondered with no little feeling of concern whether the Philippines could have another Quezon in the foreseeable future. However, those who are familiar with the nature of the historical process in the Philippines are not at all concerned about the problem of political leadership in the country in the years to come. Philippine history amply shows that the Filipino race has the potentiality of producing leaders with the intellectual, moral and patriotic grandeur of Manuel L. Quezon.

RISE OF PRESIDENT QUEZON TO LEADERSHIP*

By Eulogio B. Rodriguez

BEFORE TAKING up the services rendered by President Manuel L. Quezon to his country from the time he entered the government service by accepting the position of fiscal for the province of Tayabas in 1904 up to the time of his death in 1944, we have to state that as a youth of twenty-one years of age, Quezon saw military service in the Philippine revolutionary forces under General Emilio Aguinaldo against the Americans. This was in that little mountainous peninsula of Bataan so famous in World War II and from 1899 to 1901 when he had to surrender to the American forces. When he had to leave his country for Australia forty years thereafter, he addressed his last goodbye to his country in those same majestic mountains as it was written that he was never to return.

His whole life-time was dedicated to his own country—all his energy, his wisdom, were devoted to the pursuit of, as General MacArthur said, "man's most precious heritage—freedom. His career spaces the most glorious century of Philippine history. His biography is the heroic history of that epoch and of the present Philippines as a modern nation. He has fought innumerable battles and won them all."

While his acceptance of his appointment as prosecuting attorney of Mindoro was a financial sacrifice on his part (he was earning more as a practicing attorney), he said to himself. "This position which is being unexpectedly offered to me may be the starting point set by fate for a greater service which I may render to my people in their work of self-redemption."

To those skeptics who doubted the ability of the Orientals to live a democratic life and practice a democratic form

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of government he answered: "For three-hundred years the Christianization had prepared us for democracy since Christ's teachings were indeed the essence of democratic ideas and principles."

President Quezon was very well read and well informed, philosophy, history and biography having been among his favorite subjects. With a brilliant mind, instinctive, keen and quick to grasp and retain points he read and learned, he could impart them fluently and lucidly when occasions demanded. Simple was his style, but clear and vigorous.

In delivering his speeches, he possessed that power of marshalling his points into a unified logic so that those who heard him had a clear picture of what he said. That peculiar skill, that unusual eloquence together with that magnetic and winsome hold he had on his audience kept people spell-bound for hours evidently without tiring on what he said.

From his written thoughts and spoken words containing his philosophy of social justice, of social security, of government, of love of country, which he dedicated to his countrymen whom he loved so tenderly as he was so well loved by them, we can have an insight into his personality and character as a leader. His earnestness and determination and his fluent oratory, inspired his extraordinary and unfailing ability in moulding his people into a body nationality-conscious, place him, his speeches, his messages among the immortals of the past and among the present leaders of nations.

From early manhood while President Quezon still shouldered arms against foreign aggression, he recognized the fundamental objectives of the American policy. In reminiscing of those early days, however, he would tell his friends that his first ambition after the American Occupation was to shoot as many Americans as possible before they shoot him.

His belligerent attitude and spirit of suspicion and skepticism forced him to reluctantly accept the terms of the Americans. He laid down his arms and took the oath of allegiance to the United States. The suspicion and hostility in

the young man's mind ebbed away as he realized that history was not repeating itself and that the Filipinos had not just changed masters on the signing of the Treaty of Paris. As with the passage of time the young man became convinced that the Americans were giving the Filipinos "a helping hand and a voice that, like theirs, may be that of a free and independent people," President Quezon began to show rare capacity for leadership.

"You must bear in mind," he continued, speaking this time to the Americans, "that freedom for our country is everything to us, just as your freedom is to you. Freedom is the greatest human cause. It is something without which no self-respecting people can enjoy the maximum of happiness and contentment."

President Roxas paid him high tribute saying that we are a free people and free nation, in large part, because of President Quezon, and that our present government, the Republic and its institutions are as much his work as they could be of any single man and they constitute his perpetual monument. "In recalling his life," the late President Roxas said, "we recall the story of the modern growth of our nation. His climb to fame and leadership is a tale which must be told to all our generations. The spirit which broke the bonds of personal poverty which hurdled every obstacle because there was none great enough to stay him, is one of the proudest products of our race: His name is truly a glittering ornament of this nation."

Former Governor General, now Justice Murphy of the U.S. Supreme Court, one of his closest friends, greatly mourned his death and said that "the government of the United States deeply mourn the great loss of its best friend, the one who worked and struggled hard to obtain the independence and self-government of the Philippines." He added that President Quezon "never violated his oath to the people of the United States and in obedience to that oath, he came to our land and perished in exile. One thing he never would tolerate would be the slightest hint of violating his oath of office."

The glowing tribute paid by General MacArthur was no less laudatory nor less sincere.

"Of all men of all time, none more truly merited the application of patriot-statesmen. He could, as he.

Among the beautiful tributes Justice Claro M. Recto paid President Quezon at the national leader's final resting place were the following:

"And this, under the fascination of his personality and the incantation of his words, there emerged one after another those historical milestones which marked the progress of our land of promise; first, the independence clauses in the platforms of the political parties; then, the Autonomy law in 1916; later in 1934, the Independence law, the Constitution and the Commonwealth; and finally, the Republic which on the 4th of this month of July, was born to an international life."

Judge Pablo S. Rivera of Negros Occidental, who was with President Quezon in Washington in the days of the Jones Law, exalted the late President's name and placed him on the highest pedestal of statesmanship in the following terms:

"I do not know of any other political career that can parallel President Quezon's. In the long history of popular elections or suffrage by representation I have yet to know another international figure who did not suffer a defeat from the time he sought approval by the suffrage of his people to the day of his death. The explanation of this extraordinary career seems simple. He was a master of psychology, of psychological timing; he knew the human heart—he was a masterful man. In his long public career extending from youth to old age he took a course of wisdom that weathered the ever-changing current of fickle public opinion. He never fought principles. He always stood for principles. He never fought for himself. He always fought for the people."

Concluding, Judge Rivera stated further: "His colleagues in Congress paid him this tribute: 'He crossed swords with

some of the ablest minds of this country and in all such encounters he had emerged triumphant or at least held his own.'"

President Quezon always had an unswerving faith in the American people and in the great power of the American nation. He said these words full of encouragement to the Filipino people at the outbreak of the last world war:

"I urge every Filipino to be of good cheer, to have faith in the patriotism and valor of our soldiers in the field. But above all, to trust America and our great beloved leader—President Roosevelt! The United Nations will win this war. America is too great and too powerful to be vanquished in this conflict. I know she will not fail us!" Then his indomitable character and strong determination were stressed when he said: "The Philippines will stand by the United States till the bitter end," and when the Great Battle was already won his weakened voice came from his smiling pale lips with these words: "Thank God the facts have proved that I was right. We stood by the United States to the end. I am proud of the Filipino soldiers."

In his radio talk over the Columbia Recording Company, President Quezon told his radio audience that the Atlantic Charter's real test would come after the victory of the United Nations and he continued:

"Then we shall be faced with the task of making good on our promise to ourselves. We shall be called upon to make the postwar sacrifices that will take the principles of freedom out of a charter and put them into everyday life. We shall embark on the gigantic task of creating a world without fear and without want, a world where all of us can live in freedom to speak and think and worship, a world where evil men can no longer break the peace."

Let us all remember his counsel to us Filipinos. Let us all unite for the rehabilitation of our country both morally and economically. When we Filipinos talk we should use "words" as before the war and not "bullets" as we do now. Remember "words" and forget "bullets".

The Philippines Historical Committee organized by our government to identify, designate and appropriately mark historical places abounding in our country, prepared the following marker to be installed at his birthplace:

BIRTHPLACE OF MANUEL L. QUEZON

1878-1944

This marks the spot where President Manuel Luis Quezon was born 19 August 1878 to Lucio Quezon and Maria Molina of this town of Baler, Quezon Province. Highlights of his public career: Soldier 1899, lawyer 1903, provincial fiscal 1903-04, provincial governor 1905-06, member of the First Philippine Assembly 1907-09, resident commissioner to Washington, D.C. 1909-16, president of the Philippine Senate 1916-35, president of the Commonwealth of the Philippines 1935-44. Died at Saranac, Salt Lake City, N.Y., U.S.A. 1 August 1944. An indomitable crusader for Philippine independence and social justice, a great and fiery statesman, dynamic and far-sighted leader and a true patriot.

Ambeth Ocampo

THE RELUCTANT PARTNERS*

By Benvenuto R. Diño

AS THE LAST sultry days of summer vanished into autumn, President Manuel Quezon watched the dwindling days of his power. Autumn of 1943 would mark—by constitutional legacy—the end of the tenure as President of the Philippine Commonwealth Government-in-exile.

By a provision in the Philippine Constitution—a provision which Quezon himself insisted be inserted—no Philippine president could serve more than eight years. On the 15th of November, 1943, Quezon would have served eight years. According to the Constitution, he would have to retire in favor of Vice-President Sergio Osmeña, who stood by his side, eager to take his turn as president.

However, Quezon was convinced that he had become the symbol of the Filipino's resistance against the Japanese invasion. He felt it essential to remain President, not only for the sake of the exiled Philippine Government but also to continue representing the Philippines in Washington.

The argument advanced by Quezon was not exclusively for the pursuance of personal ambition. There were also those who favored this course. The Filipino people, had they been free to register their wishes, would have certainly kept Quezon in the presidency through a constitutional amendment.

While autumn loomed ahead, the issue grew before the tiny government-in-exile. Should Quezon continue as president? If so, by what legality? Or should he retire in favor of Vice-President Osmeña? If so, what chances had the latter of pushing on the war effort toward the eventual liberation of the Islands? Would a U.S.-guaranteed Independence follow that liberation?

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Physically ill with the coming damp of autumn, Quezon had to face a bitter choice.

He would have to break precedent by exerting his influence upon Cabinet members of the government-in-exile, compelling them to make a joint-decision in his favor or sit on as president without the legality of a constitutional mandate. Another course would be to peacefully give way to Osmeña and retire. If he chose the latter course, he would stay on in the United States as a sick, stateless statesman, of whom there were scores wandering in America and England. Therefore, Quezon was personally reluctant to give up his office.

"The Philippines needs a man at the helm that people have complete faith in," he said. "What if Osmeña becomes the president now? There would be repercussions at home. The members of the Japanese puppet cabinet are all Osmeña's men!" Quezon said.

Although lifelong friends and political partners, Quezon and Osmeña had also been lifelong opponents and rivals. As the two top men at the helm of government, Quezon and Osmeña were like reluctant partners in a family firm. They maintained a respectable wait-and-see reciprocal attitude. Although there was no distrust or diffidence, their partnership was often troubled by chronic rivalries and periodic clashing of views.

Having observed them both closely many times, I venture to say that the pair would have made a perfect duet. While Quezon was possessed of enormous drive and energy, Osmeña's sober, deliberative calmness complemented the former's fiery temperament.

Sometimes Quezon was guided in his policies more by temperament than by logic. His behavior was impulsive and sometimes instinctual. On the other hand, Osmeña's approach to pressing problems was that of a patient, keen-minded diplomat. He matched Quezon's flare for quick actions by a personal precision. While Quezon's fighting spirit was marked—and often marred—by efforts to anticipate re-

sults, Osmeña would rather woo conformity from the opposition in order to win security.

It was inevitable, therefore, that these radical differences and personal idiosyncracies would come between them. The duet now turned into a duel.

Quezon bewailed Osmeña's conformity as an attitude of irresoluteness, bordering on expediency. Osmeña questioned Quezon's blinding capacity for absolutism and illogicity. Quezon resented Osmeña's "premature" bids for safety.

As early as the first beleaguered days of Corregidor, Osmeña purportedly volunteered to escape to America. A similar incident was repeated on the submarine that brought the Quezon-Osmeña party, late in February 1942, to safety in the enemy-occupied Visayan Islands. Osmeña had insisted that the refugee party should continue the trip, by submarine, straight to the United States. Quezon sharply dissented and challenged the Vice-President to "go it alone," if he wished. Again in Australia, Osmeña anticipated Quezon's decision to leave by surface ship for the United States when Australia was near the brink of a Japanese invasion. When he found Quezon adamant, Osmeña desisted and the pair pursued their trip to exile "peacefully" together.

These differences did not grow into open hostility. The cold war that slowly developed between Quezon and Osmeña could hardly be called "war" but it was obviously less than friendship. Before the glare of floodlights and flashbulbs, the duo would jostle at each other, exchange laudatory remarks and set up obliging poses. But no sooner would each stand at a respectable arm's length distance from the other, than harmless humorous jokes would turn to downright mean sarcasm.

Quezon always referred to Osmeña as plain "Sergio." This reflected an intimacy acquired through common struggle in the political field. It also meant that the standards of loyalty to which all of Quezon's followers were subject did not even exempt the Vice-President. For example, Quezon never called Osmeña "Mr. Vice-President." At the same time

he expected the latter to refer to himself always as "Mr. President" or "Señor Presidente." As a matter of fact, Quezon often complained that "Sergio was never loyal" to him. On one occasion, Osmeña, deaf in one ear, probably missed hearing a statement pronounced by Quezon. The President complained later, "It hurts me when my people do not listen to me."

Ordinarily, Quezon's jibes at Osmeña held to the pattern of too-familiar jokes and pungent remarks. Osmeña would hit back with well-turned criticism at which Quezon would first laugh. Then, stung, he could not resist flaring up with a hot reply. Sometimes these battles of mutual criticism would last for months on end.

Most typical was the battle over Philippine independence which both fought with the American Congress.

Osmeña took me aside one pleasant afternoon in Melbourne, shortly before our departure for the United States. The Vice-President obviously had something in mind when he unprecedentedly invited me out for an exclusive walk.

Osmeña said, "The Jones Law, commonly known as the Independence Law, which Quezon brought from the United States, was of my own making. Commissioner Quezon did not really do anything unless it was previously okayed by me or unless I suggested his next step. It was I who directed the campaign from behind the same at home. It was my aim to preserve the unity of the party. That was why I relinquished the leadership and bade Quezon to go instead.

"When Quezon was about to leave for the United States after the Philippine Legislature rejected the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law, he invited me to join his party to the United States. If they failed to obtain a new bill," Osmeña said, "they would have accepted the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law. But if they succeeded in getting a new bill, the credit would be shared 50-50 between us. I had then everything to gain and nothing to lose. But I declined to go. If I went with him, Roxas and company would have formed a new party in order to reject the new bill. So I stayed home to prevent this coup. I as-

sured Quezon that if he got a new bill, I would support him back home. I did. Later, when Quezon returned with the Tydings-McDuffie Law, I was able to persuade Roxas and the others to accept it."

Months later, when we were in Washington, it was Quezon's turn to fightback. "I only made Osmeña my vice-president, as an act of justice because of his long service. He is ungrateful!"

As vice-president, Osmeña did not challenge Quezon's leadership as long as Quezon was fit. But after Quezon's ailment, he more than once suggested that he (Osmeña) take over as "acting president."

Back in Corregidor, during the early days of the war, Quezon had been at the point of abdicating. On February 10, 1942, Quezon had wanted to resign and leave Osmeña to succeed him. Quezon asked the latter to decide. Osmeña kept quiet for a long time, hesitated, and finally said: "I am willing to be acting president, if the President cannot carry on the work because of his health. However, I would not want the President to resign."

Quezon did not resign. Neither did he allow Osmeña to assume the role of acting president.

The problem of constitutional legality came in 1943. Long before November came, Osmeña again renewed his suggestions to take the oath as "acting president." Quezon, at this time, had only recently been brought to McMartin Camp near Lake Saranac. The transfer had been effected because of deteriorating health early in July, four months before his tenure of office was to expire by constitutional provision. The Vice-President was evidently anticipating the deadline. This irked Quezon. The President promptly sent a telegram to Osmeña telling him not to take the oath since it was not necessary.

On July 6, the President, visibly worried, addressed a letter to Justice Frank Murphy, requesting the latter to intervene. Justice Murphy, former governor general and later

American high commissioner to the Philippines, was familiar with the old personal differences between Quezon and Osmeña, as well as with questions dealing with the legality of power. He would be relied upon to settle renewed differences by persuasion, by weight of legal grounds and by prestige.

Quezon explained: "I have designated the Vice-President to take charge of the Philippine Government in Washington, while I am sick. I have sent him to represent me in social functions and conferences, with all the emoluments of his position. This does not entail, however, such things as the power of determining major policies of the government which belong rightly and exclusively to the President. What more does he want?"

Osmeña wired the same day, answering Quezon's telegram. He insisted on taking the oath of office since he was in a better physical condition to perform the task of the presidency (few days previously, Osmeña himself had just recovered from a sudden, brief but serious illness).

Angered by Osmeña's insistence, Quezon wired back: "Do not take oath, for reason already explained to you. The pro-Jap Filipinos now in the puppet-cabinet in Manila are all your men. The effect on the Filipino people worries me to death."

Quezon, still angry, hurriedly scribbled another letter to Justice Murphy, stating that he would not allow Osmeña to take the oath as acting president, unless President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States said so.

Evidently, it was Quezon's intention to involve the president of the United States in the political showdown with Osmeña. Thus, no action against his authority could be effected, without the U.S. president's complicity. This would ward off any possibility of adverse action against him, should Osmeña succeed in pushing through with his plans to take over. Furthermore, with the November 15 deadline coming to a close, this would presumably precipitate results in his favor. Should the U.S. president make a premature decision,

it would result in a terrific psychological setback for the U.S. government, for it would necessarily imply that the promise of independence was nominal because the president of the United States could decide on Philippine presidential succession.

The White House endorsed the dilemma back to Quezon on the basis of the war effort. President Roosevelt knew the implications of Quezon's request. He preferred to wash his hands of the whole affair. Legally, the question had to be settled by an office that could supersede the Philippine Constitution.

Quezon refused a congressional intervention. "This is strictly a family matter between us," he insisted.

Other reasons complicated the issue for President Roosevelt. If he ruled in favor of Quezon, the Japanese would claim that the autocratic Americans had violated the Philippine Constitution. If, on the other hand, he told Quezon to retire in favor of Osmeña, Japan would shout that the faithless Americans had let down their own best friend. There was no alternative but to endorse the issue back to the Philippine government-in-exile. Let them decide for themselves. Allow them to draft their own resolution. Have it confirmed by the American congress later. Let Quezon be his own judge.

Quezon, however, did not like this. He wanted the issue to be decided by his cabinet. But could he rely on his own cabinet to vote in his favor?

There were serious doubts in Quezon's mind regarding the loyalty of the men that surrounded him. He took great interest in their personal views, interpreting them within the context of the problem. While Quezon did not relish the idea of giving way to his successor he was at the same time desirous to keep everything legal.

With the problem now back in his hands, Quezon promptly dispatched old reliable Col. Manuel Nieto to Washington, to confer with Osmeña about a possible compromise. If the

latter could be persuaded not to push his claim to the presidency, then the question of leadership would be nonexistent. Nieto left for Washington on the night of July 6.

Quezon now began to consolidate his position before the members of his cabinet-in-exile. All of the cabinet members, however, were reluctant to openly pronounce their choice in the presence of both President Quezon and Vice-President Osmeña.

Personally, Quezon felt he could rely on Col. Manuel Nieto, his trusted aide; Col. Andres Soriano, his lifelong friend who was Secretary of Finance; and Resident Commissioner Joaquin "Mike" Elizalde. Later, after Quezon's death, the latter two would not be included in Osmeña's cabinet.

There were also other cabinet members that could be relied upon to support Quezon. General Basilio J. Valdes, wartime Defense Secretary, was a staunch Quezon man; and Dr. Arturo B. Rotor, Secretary to the President. While not absolutely sure of the latter, Quezon at least counted on him to join the majority. When he came to Carlos P. Romulo, the Secretary of Information, Quezon commented: "He will bat for me because I am right."

Fear of reprisal, should Osmeña take over, lingered in the minds of the cabinet members. The tendency to let fate take its course was most tempting. Yet, by common consent, the force of Quezon's courageous personality held the bulk of the cabinet together in his favor.

"Some people like Osmeña. But I've been for Quezon for a long time, and nothing has happened to make me change my mind," a cabinet member confided.

While biding his time, Quezon made me read to him volumes of books sometimes up to the wee hours of the night. On the other occasions he would resort to a game to gauge his chances. He would play solitaire propped up in his bed, while I fixed the cards on a nearby table. If the combinations happened to turn out against his expectations,

he would direct me to cheat. This was one unusual characteristic of Quezon: he would even cheat fortune itself.

Except for the fateful Shoreham conference with Roosevelt's emissary, on the morning of October 4, wherein Quezon outwitted the American panel over postwar bases arrangements, there was little to be done in the sickbed headquarters at the Washington hotel.

Meanwhile, Osmeña went about bringing his case before American authorities. Quezon refused to be disturbed by news that Osmeña was lobbying with Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson and members of the U.S. congress. Quezon, cocksure of himself, commented: "Everything is okay now with Osmeña. In spite of what he did, I will give him a chance. I will not deprive him of the chance of succession after the war. The only matter with him is that he listened to the 'imperialists' (pro-Americans). But it is natural for him to do that."

Quezon still recognized the worthy motives of his opponent. Formerly, he had threatened to wreck Osmeña's chances by amending the Constitution immediately after liberation, thereby forcing a new election. Then Quezon would have supported Roxas against Osmeña.

The real issue came to a head on the afternoon of November 3—the day the cabinet of the government-in-exile convened for a conference. The cabinet members sat around Quezon's bed.

Quezon stated that if the cabinet were to reach a decision, it had to be a fair one. All the cabinet members, Quezon reasoned, were his appointees—all, except Jaime Hernandez, the auditor general. It was imperative that his view be considered as having more weight than all others put together.

Apologizing nervously, Jaime requested that he be given time to think it over.

Visibly irked by Hernandez's wavering, either to Osmeña or to himself, Quezon dismissed the session with a dry curt:

"The meeting is adjourned." His scraggly eyebrows shook vehemently. He stared at Hernandez quizzically. The cabinet members folded their papers, abruptly and silently filed out of the door.

The following day Osmeña appeared at the Shoreham. His arrival coincided with a closed-door talk between Quezon and Justice Murphy.

Assigned to usher in the former governor general, I accompanied Murphy to the President's bedroom. Meanwhile, Serapio Canceran, the President's private secretary, took care of Osmeña. We made certain that they would not meet each other. After Quezon's lengthy conference with Murphy, I accompanied him through a side door, by-passing Osmeña. With Murphy gone, I announced to the Vice-President in Canceran's office that the President was now ready for him. They had a long serious talk that day.

Three days later, Osmeña revealed that Quezon was engaged in another political gambit. A resolution, subject to approval by the U.S. congress after signature by all the members of the government-in-exile, was in Quezon's hand. Osmeña refused to sign the resolution.

"The resolution is unjust," Osmeña complained. "According to the resolution, both of us would be allowed to continue in our tenures as President and Vice-President, respectively, until the Philippines is liberated. If the President dies before that date, I would still remain Vice-President." Then he continued: "I have plenty of chances to win. If I only stand pat, the President will be out by November 15. But I want to help maintain unity. If I am an obstacle to our chances of getting millions for the Philippines' rehabilitation after the war, I shall not accept the presidency. I would accept only if Quezon should support me."

I told the President about the Vice-President's chagrin over the reported injustice of the resolution. Quezon replied, "I shall not allow Sergio to be treated unfairly. If the congress passes the original resolution, I shall not accept

the presidency." It was clear to me that Quezon was playing poker for his confirmation with all the cards in his favor.

November 9 came and a telephone call announced that the U.S. Senate had passed the joint-resolution. "This house will debate it tomorrow," President Quezon announced triumphantly.

At 4 p.m. on November 10, word came that a motion forwarded by Rep. Judd, suggesting the return of the resolution back to the Philippine committee had lost by a vote of 169 to 119. This meant that the resolution was now ready for confirmation by congress. Congress then approved the resolution by majority vote: 181 to 107. A flood of telephone calls jammed the President's private telephone.

At 4:30, Vice-President Osmeña appeared, beaming. In a traditional handclasp accompanied by the characteristic Latin embrace, Osmeña congratulated President Quezon.

After Osmeña left, Quezon revealed that had Osmeña insisted in becoming president, Roosevelt would have proclaimed an executive order abolishing the Commonwealth government-in-exile. The U.S. President would then let Gen. MacArthur act as military governor of the Philippines until the civil government was restored.

Osmeña never knew this.

"Had Osmeña won his case," Quezon later said, "he would have been president for only two days at most. I would have fought him therefore. He was afraid of hostile attitude toward him in the executive branches of the U.S. government and in the congress. So he came back and begged me to make my decision instead. I washed my hands of it. So he went to Millard E. Tydings, asking the latter to prepare a resolution on the basis of the letter signed by me and by all the members of the cabinet, also signed by no other than Osmeña himself. This was the joint resolution."

When November 15, 1943 came, Quezon was still the president. Osmeña took the blow gamely. "If it is in the

interest of the country, I shall abide by the decision of the Congress," he said.

The fight for presidential succession demonstrated beyond all shadow of doubt that, amid political tiffs and fits of rivalry, the two men at the helm of the Philippine government could be relied upon to settle their differences peacefully.

EDITOR'S NOTE:*

After interviewing Vice-President Osmeña (November 27, 1943) and President Quezon (November 25, 1943), Frederick S. Marquardt, then Chief of the Office of U.S. Office of War Information in the Southwest Pacific (see *FREE PRESS*, December 15, 1962), came to the conclusion that Osmeña had indeed performed a great service for the Philippines in one of the most touching acts of self-abnegation in the history of the country. Osmeña gave up the presidency "after having been—in effect—elected to it. He signed away his right to the chief magistracy, when all he had to do was remain silent."

According to Marquardt, Vice-President Osmeña was willing to discuss any method by which Quezon could stay in office, although he never gave his blanket consent. Osmeña said he would comply if a request came from President Roosevelt. As events turned out, the letter which Quezon had wanted Osmeña to sign during the crucial cabinet meeting, was not the letter Osmeña had expected Roosevelt to send: one, requesting both of them to take the question of who would be president to the U.S. Congress. Instead it was a letter from both of them asking Congress to act. On the basis of his procedural defect, Osmeña refused to sign. After hearing the opinion of the cabinet members, Quezon, according to Osmeña, said: "Well, I see the cabinet is divided. In that case my decision is made. . . I shall leave here on November 14. Mr. Osmeña will become President on the 15th. This is the final cabinet meeting." After the meeting Osmeña said he spoke to Senator Tydings to revise the letter, and after a few changes the cabinet approved it and all of them signed it. The rest is history. The Senate passed the joint resolution, "but there were more than 150 votes against it in the Lower House after a particularly hot debate. Osmeña could undoubtedly have killed the bill in the Lower House had he expressed any disapproval of it."

Two days before his interview with Osmeña, Marquardt spoke to President Quezon and was informed that both he and the Vice-

* (Philippines Free Press)

President had decided to settle the question of the presidency among themselves without requesting U.S. Government intervention. Quezon added, however, that "some people apparently convinced Osmeña that he should have the office according to legal right." This took place in summer. With the coming of fall, according to Marquardt, Quezon had shown the author a six-page letter asking Roosevelt to settle the issue. Quezon initially refused to sign the draft of the letter because "it was simply a matter of dignity. I wasn't a job seeker and never had been one. I wasn't going to sign a letter to Congress now begging for a job." On the basis of an appeal to patriotism from Secretary of War Stimson, President Quezon finally relented and this time it was Osmeña who wouldn't sign the letter. At this point the crucial cabinet meeting was held where Quezon, with his customary dramatic flourish said: "Gentlemen, I'm through. . . ." I'm leaving here on the 14th."

According to Marquardt, Quezon smiled and said: "Osmeña came over quickly and said he'd sign the paper. So did everyone else. And that's how it happened."

QUEZON AND OSMEÑA: THEIR LAST BATTLE*

By Frederic S. Marquardt

MANUEL L. QUEZON and Sergio Osmeña formed the most enduring partnership in Philippine history. For more than a quarter of a century they directed the political campaign for Philippine independence. As the United States extended greater and greater authority to the Filipinos, Quezon and Osmeña used it to build a new ship of state. It is an ironic twist of fate that Quezon didn't live to see the ship launched, while Osmeña was not privileged to stand at the rudder during the launching.

Both of these architects of Philippine independence were born in 1878; Quezon on August 19; Osmeña on September 9. Both were elected to the First Philippine Assembly in 1907; Osmeña became speaker; Quezon was made majority party floor leader. When the Philippine Senate was constituted under the Jones Act, Quezon became its president, Osmeña, majority floor leader. In the autonomous Philippine Commonwealth, Quezon was president, Osmeña was vice-president.

Throughout the American regime these two Filipinos dominated Philippine politics. They complemented each other perfectly. The explosive, Latin-tempered Quezon was an ideal foil for the even-handed, Oriental-minded Osmeña. They had their differences, but usually kept them to themselves. There were some notable exceptions, such as unipersonalism in government and the advisability of rejecting the Hare-Hawes-Cutting independence law in the hope of getting something better.

Quezon won both those fights. He convinced the Nacionalista Consolidado Party it should give up the concept of unipersonalism, and then gathered to himself all the po-

* Reprinted from the *Philippine Free Press*, August 15, 1953, pp. 25-26, 28.

wer he could lay his hands on. He persuaded the legislature it should kill the Hare-Hawes-Cutting independence law, and then secured approval of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, virtually a carbon copy.

Their last battle could easily have disrupted the Quezon-Osmeña partnership, and might have seriously affected the Philippine war effort in World War II. But Quezon and Osmeña settled their differences privately and presented a united front to the world.

That was just 10 years ago. The issue was fought out in Washington, where Quezon and Osmeña headed the Philippine government in exile. The story is little known in the Philippines, which was under Japanese occupation at the time. It is specially pertinent in this election year of 1953.

The question involved presidential tenure of office. Then, as now, the Philippine Constitution provided no man could hold the presidency for more than eight successive years. Quezon had been sworn in as president on November 15, 1935. His eight years would be up on November 15, 1943. According to the constitution, Osmeña was due to become president on that date.

But few men willingly yield political power. Quezon wanted to retain his high office. There were some strong arguments on his side. He was a symbol of Filipino resistance to the Japanese. He was far better known than Osmeña, in the United States and throughout the world. If he were replaced as president, the constitutional issue would be lost sight of. The Japanese would claim that the United States had double-crossed a loyal friend. Foreign nations might think that Quezon had removed himself from office as a protest against America's policy of Europe-First instead of Asia-First in fighting the war.

On the other hand, Osmeña knew that the office legally belonged to him. He felt capable of doing the job. And he believed profoundly in a government of law, not of men. One breach of the constitution could lead to another. This, he reasoned, would be a good time to show that even in moments

of grave emergency the Filipinos could live under and abide by the laws they themselves had made.

In the end, as was usually the case, Quezon's will prevailed. Osmeña was ready to sacrifice personal ambition to the national welfare. The old working partnership was re-established and the two men petitioned congress to set aside the Philippine constitution.

Thus it was that the Congress of the United States passed a bill providing that the president and vice-president of the Philippine Commonwealth now serving should continue in office until the United States president proclaimed that constitutional processes had been restored in the Philippines. President Roosevelt signed the bill into law on November 12, 1943.

In view of charges of American intervention in the current elections, it is interesting to note that 1943 was one year in which the United States did actually determine who would be president of the Philippines. But it was done on the written petition of the executive heads of the Philippine government, and it met considerable opposition in the United States. In his definitive work, "First Malayan Republic" (published in 1951), George A. Malcolm called congress' action "constitutionally indefensible."

Quezon's Story

I visited Washington shortly thereafter, and had long interviews with both Quezon and Osmeña, the former in his lavish suite in the Shoreham Hotel, the latter in his modest apartment in the Twenty-Four Hundred Hotel. Each told me his side of the story, and I still have the notes I made immediately after the interview. They reveal a story which has never been fully told before.

My interview with Quezon was on Thanksgiving Day, November 25. The president was propped up in bed, and his frail body was frequently wracked by coughing spells induced by the tuberculosis which was to result in his death less than a year later.

I took the opportunity to congratulate him on the way the Filipino government in exile had worked out its problems. I pointed out how sharply this contrasted with the bitterness shown between De Gaulle and Giraud in the Free French government.

"Vice-President Osmeña and I agreed to settle the issue between ourselves last May," Quezon said. "President Roosevelt told me he wanted me to remain as president after November 15. I asked him not to take any action without consulting Osmeña."

Quezon's opinion was that the Philippine Constitution was not operative, since the Tydings-McDuffie Act provided that the President should have authority in the Philippines, and obviously he had none there. "I am the president of half a dozen men, not of the Philippines," Quezon said laughingly.

Judge Sam Rosenman, one of Roosevelt's aides, tried to bring the matter to a head. After talking with both of the Filipino leaders, he drafted a letter to congress which he hoped they would sign. Over the phone he told Quezon that Osmeña had agreed to sign. But Quezon objected. He didn't want to be in the position of a suppliant. Secretary of War Stimson, former governor general of the Philippines, tried to persuade Quezon. Here's how Quezon described the incident:

"Stimson came in and showed me the letter and asked me to sign it. I said I couldn't. He said, 'That's your Spanish pride, Don Manuel.' I said it wasn't a matter of pride but one of dignity. I wasn't a job-seeker, and never had been. I wasn't going to sign a letter to Congress now begging for a job.

"Then Stimson said, 'I'm asking you to sign that letter because we need you in the war effort, and we need you at the head of the government. It's your duty.'

"So I said, 'Then I'll sign it. I have never yet failed in my patriotic duty. If Osmeña will sign it, I will.'

"So I thought it was all settled, but that afternoon Osmeña came and said he couldn't sign the letter and he didn't think I should."

According to Quezon, Rosenman called him up and said, "What's the matter with you fellows? When Osmeña wants to sign, you don't. And when you want to sign, he doesn't."

Quezon went on with his story, gestulating dramatically in his sickbed. "So I called a meeting of the cabinet, and told them I had agreed to sign the request to congress because the secretary of war said it was my duty. However, Sergio wouldn't sign it.

"Then I said, 'Gentlemen, I'm through.' I turned to Hernandez (Jaime Hernandez, secretary of finance) and said, 'Fix up a complete financial report for my entire term of office.' Then I said, 'Rotor (Arturo B. Rotor, private secretary), get all my papers for me.' And then to all of them I said, 'I'm leaving on the 14th.'"

Quezon smiled as he concluded, "Osmeña came over quickly and said he'd sign the paper. That's how it happened."

Vice-President Osmeña's account was a little different. He gave it to me on Saturday, November 27, at the Twenty-Four Hundred Hotel. He, too, had talked with Secretary of War Stimson, who said that "the one great aim of the United States was to recapture the Philippines and give the Filipinos their real independence."

Osmeña continued: "Stimson said that in defeating Japan the United States would need the help of the Filipinos, all of them, and that he hoped President Quezon and I would both be able to help, and not just one of us, as would happen if Quezon were to be replaced by me as president. I told him I was anxious for unity too, but that there were certain legal obstacles to be considered. He said the method of settling the issue could be left to the legalists. But he emphasized that two men were essential in the reconquest of the Philippines—MacArthur and Quezon.

"One day," said Osmeña, "Quezon called me to the Shoreham and said, 'Well, they're going to throw me out into the street.' I told him I had no intention of throwing him out, I said I had long since told mutual acquaintances that if I should become president I would make Mr. Quezon head of a council of state and ask him to stay at the Shoreham with all the prerequisites of his present office. I didn't want to move into that big suite. This place is fine for me."

Dramatic Meeting

After his talks with Stimson, Quezon, and others, Osmeña decided he would sign the petition to congress if he could get a letter from President Roosevelt asking him to do so. When he went to the dramatic cabinet meeting Quezon had described to me, Osmeña thought Quezon had a request from Roosevelt. On learning Roosevelt hadn't put his request in writing, Osmeña said he couldn't sign the letter.

"President Quezon spoke to us at some length, lying there in his bed," said Osmeña. "He asked me if I wanted to be heard, and I presented my side of the case. Then he called on Hernandez, who said, 'This is a very vital matter and I would like a little time to think it over.'"

"Then Mr. Quezon said, 'Well, I see the cabinet is divided. In that case, my decision is made. I have rented a house in California and I shall leave here on November 14. Mr. Osmeña will become president on the 15th. This is the final cabinet meeting. It's goodbye to you all.'"

"They all walked out, and I walked to the elevator with them. Then I returned to the president's bedroom and told him I wanted to think things over and I would see him in the morning. I thought he might change his mind. But when I saw him the next day, he was as determined as ever.

"I'm disgusted with it and I'll have no more to do with it," Mr. Quezon said.

"Does that stop me from settling the case?" I asked him.

"No, you go ahead and do what you like," he said.

"'All right,' I said, 'but I want one promise from you. I want you to let me handle the case entirely alone. Please don't call up anyone or do anything about it.'

"'I'll promise that,' Quezon said. 'You can do anything you like. I'll have no more to do with it.'"

Now on his own, Osmeña decided to consult Sen. Milard E. Tydings, head of the senate committee on insular affairs and author of the Philippine Independence Act. Osmeña and Tydings discussed the matter at length, and Tydings assured him congress would not intervene except at the direct request of Quezon and Osmeña. Bowing to the inevitable, Osmeña went to work on the draft of a letter to congress in which he voluntarily relinquished his legally-established right to the presidency. Tydings helped polish the letter. Osmeña took it to the cabinet, which approved it. Then he took it to Quezon, who promptly signed.

Thus the Japanese were robbed of a potentially powerful propaganda weapon. And history was given an example of how Filipino leaders can work together when necessity arises and when they are of the stature of Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña.

PRESIDENT QUEZON'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIED WAR EFFORT*

By Harry W. Frantz

THE LATE President Manuel L. Quezon of the Philippine Commonwealth, gave brilliant political aid to the United Nations before his death at Saranac Lake, N.Y., on August 1, 1944. As head of a government-in-exile at Washington during more than two war years, and as an intimate friend of the late President Roosevelt, the leader of the Filipino people was a frequent vehicle for fraternal statements or policy expressions helpful to the Allied cause.

The Office of War Information and the Office of Inter-American Affairs frequently carried these statements by President Quezon on major political development, and his worldwide recognition as democratic leader of a fighting small nation gave his expressions primary international importance.

Scarcely one month after his arrival in Washington, the Philippine Commonwealth on June 24, 1942, signed the declaration of the United Nations. A few weeks later President Quezon became a member of the Pacific War Council. These steps meant to the world that the United States intended to fulfill its independence pledge, and symbolized this country's role as a champion of small and relatively defenseless nations.

President Quezon's addresses and press statements, often prepared with high official collaboration, were broadcast to every country on the globe. Collectively, they served not only the war interest of the Allies, but prepared world opinion for the establishment of the Philippine Republic, which actually became fact on July 4, 1946.

Ready today, the messages reveal accurate prophecies of the liberation of the Philippines, the defeat of Japan, the

* Reprinted from the Quezon Memorial Book, pp. 137-139.

establishment of the United Nations and the fulfillment of the United States pledge of Philippine independence.

On May 19, 1942, President Quezon spoke to the South American republic from New York. Recalling that the Philippines had once shared the lot of the Latin American peoples as a province of Spain, he said:

"I am immensely grateful to learn that all the sister republics of this hemisphere have agreed to discuss and plan a program of common defense. I am confident that, if the Americans can maintain the true cause of democracy, all liberty loving nations, sooner or later, will not only overcome the foreign yoke of oppression but will also enjoy peace thereafter."

At the time when the world was electrified by the announcement of the Casablanca conference between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, President Quezon stated:

"As head of the government of the Philippines, and as a Filipino, I want to express both my admiration for the courage shown by President Roosevelt and my eternal gratitude for what he has accomplished. I feel certain that the liberation of my people is not far away. All of the enslaved nations must now feel that the hour for their redemption has struck."

On November 9, 1943, President Quezon hailed the Moscow announcement of a four-power pact as a recognition that the small nations would have a right to be heard when peace was declared.

"The pact," he said, "is more than a pledge to win the war, and win it in a total way. It is a formal commitment of the leader-nations in the fight for freedom and democracy to see to it that after the war shall have been won, their strength and power will not be used for their own aggrandizement but to give security to a peace in which the large nations as well as the small nations will respect the principles of sovereign equality."

Commenting on the Teheran conference, President Quezon said on December 6, 1943, "Germany and Japan will both be crashed and reduced to impotence, so they may never again disturb the peace of the world."

"The peace that will follow will be enduring. The new world will be constituted by a family of democratic nations—large and small alike—where tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance will have no place. For such world the sacrifices of all liberty-loving peoples will not have been in vain."

President Quezon, on the occasion of the Australian Foundation Day, January 26, 1944, praised the reciprocal military aid of the Philippines, and the Southern Commonwealth during the war. "This has shown that Australia and the Philippines have sacred interests in common. I hope and confidently expect that these two democracies, Australia and the Philippines, will in the future cooperate with one another for the preservation of their liberties and the welfare of their peoples."

On February 24, 1944, President Quezon in a broadcast to the Filipino people said: "The United Nations are defeating the enemies of freedom in every quarter of the globe. The day of justice and real Philippine Independence is drawing nearer. Keep your courage and faith. The United States of America will make good her pledge to establish and recognize the Philippine Republic."

One of the last messages of President Quezon was that sent to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek on July 7, 1944, three weeks before Quezon's death: "As China enters its eighth year of unwavering resistance against Japan the world must not forget that it was the Chinese people who seven years ago pioneered in the fight for democracy against totalitarianism," he said.

"Your courage and determination have made up for what you lacked in armed power and yours is a struggle for human freedom that will go down in history as one of the

noblest exemplifications of a nation's unbending will against tyranny and oppression."

"As the forces of liberation continue advancing everywhere, it is my hope, and I am sure it is that of all lovers of freedom, that your arms may soon achieve that victory which the brave Chinese people so rightly deserve."

WHAT KIND OF NATIONALIST WAS MANUEL L. QUEZON?

By Theodore Friend

IF MEDICAL SCIENCE had had the means of treating tuberculosis twenty years ago that it has now, Manuel Quezon might still be alive to celebrate his eightieth birthday this Tuesday. Instead of passing into the realm of history, where even the clearest and strongest of voices are muffled, Quezon would be with his people today, challenging them, encouraging them, perhaps even cursing them, as it was once his habit and even his delight to do. In these days of a growing nationalism, as yet unfocussed and uncertain, a Quezon still living would take charge of defining this pent-up force in the people, and channeling it into constructive use.

Few men of the twentieth century had such long careers as recognized leaders of their people—Quezon was twenty-two years in the foremost electoral position his country offered, the crucial years in the movement for national independence. Gandhi and Stalin come to mind as having enjoyed comparable periods of prominence, although in much different situations. Although those two diverse and contradictory characters operated in political systems considerably different from Quezon's, the point of mentioning them is their extraordinary ability of impressing their wills upon their peoples, an ability which Quezon shared. Long after most men have exhausted their power and imagination, and long after a people's taste for a leader has normally cloyed, they continued to dominate in their separate and distinct fashions. If Gandhi and Stalin may perhaps be historical examples of political types peculiar to the twentieth century—"The Yogi and the Commissar" in Arthur Koestler's phrase—Manuel Quezon eluded both categories. He eludes, in fact, any typification, and goes on beckoning to and challenging his people as a personality of unique persuasiveness.

If perhaps the weaknesses of present day nationalism in the Philippines are in part a result of the ultra-personal qua-

lity of his rule, still his people have something to learn from the development of his nationalistic thought. His growth towards maturity from phrasemaker to statesman is an inspiring one, but it goes easily unnoticed in the common recollection of his countrymen, who remember or are told of his flashing eyes and stirring speech, his capacity for fury and, equally, forgiveness. Story after story is related about his courage, his initiative, and his idiosyncracies—so many tales that it becomes easy in fascination and admiration of the man to overlook the growth of his thought. Through his papers willed to the public and deposited in the Bureau of Public Libraries this growth is traceable.

Perhaps Quezon himself is responsible for the affectionate caricature of himself which is abroad today, even though he made sure that the records would survive to correct it. Devotion, just as much as lesser sentiments, can distort the object at which it is directed. And even though Quezon seemed to elicit devotion without seeking it, he had a special sense, which he always kept sharp, of what was in the hearts of the people, and what they needed for fulfillment. Not that he had the spontaneous love of the masses which flowed from a Magsaysay—Quezon's temperament and taste were too aristocratic for that—but he did know what they wanted in a leader and he played up to it. Perhaps it is true of masses everywhere, but probably more true in the Philippines than elsewhere, that they play a feminine role towards their leader. They are patient with outrages, they are long-suffering and forgiving, as long as he shall excite and satisfy their hunger for lordly, even reckless, courage. They will accept abuse of faith and even contempt from their leader, so long as he does not falter in the manly role, so long as he acts commandingly. In this role Quezon never faltered. Even though he might reverse himself twice within a day, he did it with an appearance of supreme confidence. Even when he might in spirit be vacillating, his demeanor was of a man unswerving. As he remarked to Sergio Osmeña, who for so long was both Quezon's colleague and his competitor, "I also come to the same decisions (as you do), only it takes me less time."

"But," Osmeña replied, "I never make your mistakes." "When I do make mistakes," Quezon shot back, "I use the time in rectifying them that you waste in making studies."

If the remark was indelicate, it was at least partly true. For all of his many talents, his conscientiousness and sagacity, Osmeña was never able to capture the popular imagination as Quezon did, in his romantic role of warrior-hero. Charm and flair, even flamboyance, always triumphed over undramatized intelligence. With his accustomed patience, Osmeña came to accept the fact, and in his later years he created his own useful role as the balance wheel of Philippine nationalism, helping to moderate Quezon's eccentricities and extremes.

In earlier days, however, competition between the two men tended to drive them both to extremes. They were both prone, like their counterparts in India and Indonesia, to overemphasize their party as the means of securing freedom. Not until 1922 did either of them clearly distinguish between loyalty to the nation and loyalty to the Nacionalistas.

Quezon was the man, and the occasion was the contest with Osmeña for domestic political leadership. "My loyalty to my country begins," he said during his campaign, "where loyalty to my party ends." Although the Nacionalistas had kept the issue of independence before the people since the first provincial elections of 1905, Quezon thus became the first within the party to declare it was not necessarily the best instrument for obtaining sovereignty, nor was it identical with the national interest. But the statement itself does not establish Quezon as a constitutional theorist, nor even, necessarily, a sincere politician. The historian searches in vain for real issues in the election of 1922 other than the very simple one "Who shall be the supremo, Osmeña or Quezon?" By splitting off his own wing of the Nacionalistas and forming a separate party, Quezon decided the question in his own favor.

The move, however, was purely a tactical maneuver, as his subsequent coalition with Osmeña proved. He had gain-

ed a personal ascendancy in Philippine politics which was never to be reversed, but his development as a mature nationalist was many years later in coming.

First he had to consolidate his position with respect to Osmeña. And in that necessity lay the beginnings of his famous clashes with Wood, and the ensuing deadlock between the Governor-General and Filipino politicians which lasted until Wood's death. As a colonial administrator Wood is subject to a variety of criticisms: at the least, his stiffness of person and policy laid him open to attack from the nationalists, and Quezon took careful aim. Some of his assaults were justified and proper; all of them were popular. As a way of getting nationalistic sentiment behind him, Quezon could not have improved on his campaign against Wood. By the time Osmeña dared challenge him again in 1933 over the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, Quezon had deeply identified himself with the nationalistic cause. So much so, that the Philippine Congress at his command turned down the first offer of independence ever extended a colonized people. This while thousands of Indians languished in jail for participating in Gandhi's campaign of passive resistance to the British!

How had Quezon done it? First of all, his campaign against Wood had been so intense as to convince the people utterly that Quezon was the warrior-hero needed to lead them to the promised land of independence. At one time Quezon had fretted at the lack of nationalistic issues made available to him by a beneficent insular government: a friend recalls him hurling his sun helmet across his room exclaiming, "Damn the Americans! Why don't they tyrannize us more?" Then came Wood, whose sense of dignity had grown so greatly at the expense of his sense of diplomacy that he continually fed Quezon with issues. Anti-imperialism, anti-militarism, even anti-Americanism—all of them became live political weapons and Quezon grew skilled at touching them off. The people had been respectful and even affectionate to Governors-General like Harrison who showed them consideration, but now Quezon held center stage and

declaimed to an enthusiastic audience on the errors of the chief executive. On a trip to the provinces in 1926 he uttered what is probably the classic statement of his nationalism as anti-imperialism: "I would prefer a government run like hell by Filipinos to one run like heaven by Americans." The remark circulated around the world.

Nationalism, however, has other and more fruitful forms of expression than this. Quezon began to dare to use them, when, having beaten Osmeña and the H-H-C Act, his power was assured. He had gone to America and come back with the Tydings-McDuffie Act providing his people with independence after all. He also came back assured of the services of General Douglas MacArthur to build a Philippine military establishment in preparation for independence. And he brought back, furthermore inspiration from the New Deal to face the problems of his country's poor. America had not prepared the Philippines to defend itself, nor had she gotten to the root of the problem of poverty. Now while her own military languished, she was at last attending to her own "forgotten man."

Perhaps this was the essence of wisdom in nationalism, beneath the cant and hysteria which tend to surround it—that only an independent people have both the sight of their own real needs and an interest in satisfying them. An imperial power, no matter how good its intentions, is usually so occupied with its own problems as to be unable to grapple with the basic problems of the people it rules. America had given the Philippines democracy, but not economic stability. America had provided better health and education for the poor, but had not come to grips with the basic causes of their poverty. Only Filipinos, in all probability, could understand the complex whys of poverty, of tenancy, of landlessness, and only they could safely attempt to relieve them.

And so, while America was feeling the first reinvigorations of the New Deal, Quezon as President of the Philippine Commonwealth launched his campaign for social justice. To acquaint himself more closely with agricultural problems, he bought land near Mount Arayat, and personally kept

in touch with the administration of it. As well as the farmer, the long ignored laborer began to receive Quezon's attention. This evidence of sympathy and concern from the leader took much of the steam out of the young Communist party, which was as yet very distantly affiliated with Moscow. Instead of growing closer to the Com-intern it now moved farther away, attracted to Quezon by his reforms. As one of the party leaders told the President.

"We don't want to assert our personality in politics. . . we are. . . willing to cooperate with the Administration in its social justice program. We are interested in that more than anything else."

Thus Quezon, finding the negative nationalism of the Twenties a barren and wornout thing, turned his attention inward upon the deficiencies of his own people and their economic system.

"We may not go down in history as statesmen," he told the National Assembly in 1937, but, he implored them. "Let us win the title of friends of the poor, the highest title to which a Christian man can aspire."

No matter how well Quezon's social justice program advanced, other events fated it for short life. No amount of progress in the simultaneous program of national defense could have forestalled the events of December 1941. For the whole Western world was sadly unready for Japan's joining the Axis powers. Not the least tragic result of the Japanese invasion and occupation of the Philippines was that it put an end to improvement of the farmer's lot and the laborer's, and instead immeasurably worsened it. From this grievous situation arose the Huks. Their arms gave them power, but what gave them unit was the common experience of suffering which Quezon had been trying to alleviate. Domestic progress had ceased, a victim of external aggression.

Exiled as he was during the war, Quezon must have felt the greatest anxiety at being out of touch with his people. Unable to help them except as a distant symbol of freedom, Quezon turned his mind to the central question of the sur-

vival of the Philippines as a nation. As early as 1926, he once told an American friend, he had foreseen Japanese invasion as a possible threat to his country but in those days he had satisfied himself with rhetorical nationalism: it was the very year of the famous "heaven-hell" statement.

Now sitting in the Pacific War Council with the Allied strategists, all merely emotional nationalism was gone from him. His plan of national defense had been insufficient, and an unprepared America was unable to withstand the first months of enemy onslaught. As tuberculosis sapped his strength Quezon pondered: the Filipinos could run the Philippines—maybe not like heaven, but certainly in a way which did them credit. But could and the laborer's, and instead immeasurably worsened it. From this grievous situation arose the Huks. Their arms gave them power, but what gave them unit was the common experience of suffering which Quezon had been trying to alleviate. Domestic progress had ceased, a victim of external aggression.

Exiled as he was during the war, Quezon must have felt a security nowhere else to be found against dangers from outside the nation.

Thus while Quezon was completing a cycle in his policy towards America, he was progressing straight ahead in his handling of domestic problems. Ever a brilliant politician, as President of the Commonwealth he grew into a statesman with the courage to look outwards for support against his country's basic weakness, and to look inwards to correct his society's basic faults. In doing so his nationalism, which had once showered forth in emotional sparks, now burned like a pilot light, steadily and evenly, illuminating for his people the leader's matured vision: above personal and provincial interests, above party and private interests—the interests of the nation.

QUEZON: THE ARISTOCRAT AS LEADER *

By Andres Cristobal Cruz

"In a community as poor and primitive as Baler, we were considered the number one family," Manuel L. Quezon wrote in his autobiography, *The Good Fight*. This was because his parents, both teachers, were of Spanish descent and the people, mostly tenants of the Tayabas haciendas, looked up to the "buena familia" in their community.

Quezon had an aristocratic pride which remained with him to the end and which gave not only color to his person as a national figure, but also, in a way, gave shape to his thinking on how to secure independence.

Revolutionary

Born August 19, 1871, Quezon joined the Revolution in 1898 and became a second lieutenant. He served as an aide to the intrepid General Mascardo. When the Philippine-American War ended, Quezon stayed on for a while as a guerrilla. He perceived the inevitable end of the Revolution as he watched a forlorn General Aguinaldo under American guards.

He surrendered in 1901 and became governor of Tayabas.

American civil authorities in Manila heard of Quezon, the "Kastila" and of his imperious words and deeds. He had bawled out an American official who was interloping and would have thrown an inkstand to the American's face had not the shocked official hastily evicted himself from Quezon's sight. And Quezon was just beginning to speak English!

Quezon was contemporary in his political conduct, and he had the charismatic appeal. He was able to weld together and even manipulate for his own political interests the disparate elements of post-revolution Philippines. He was arrogant, imperious, and even dictatorial.

* Reprinted from the *Chronicle Magazine*, August 17, 1968, pp. 10-11.

Quezon was "arrogante" and this endeared him, if not to the American civil authorities, to his own countrymen, particularly to that new breed that began to stalk the land—the post-revolution Philippines, the breed that was to embody the old world and the new, that began to learn the rudiments of parliamentary struggles which were necessary for the realization of independence. Of this breed, Quezon emerged as the activist, not so much for the Filipinization Movement, but more so for the Independence Movement.

On July 30, 1907, by authority of U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt, an election was held for membership in the Philippine Assembly. Manuel L. Quezon was elected Majority Floor Leader, Sergio Osmeña, "El Chico" from Cebu, was Speaker.

In Quezon, the national moment seemed to have caught fire. There was excitement in the air. The Filipinos in the sidewalks of Manila were jostling and elbowing Americans in the street. Curses rent the air, on stage where the Moromoro was dying, and in the newspapers of the day. With flashing eyes and flailing arms, Quezon was to rally the Filipinos to a cause of national unity and dignity.

He was at ease with everyone, the rich and the poor alike, and according to his son Manuel Quezon, Jr., "There was fatherliness towards the young, dignity and mutual respect toward the old." His oratory was natural, not learned, and he spoke a trilingual tongue—English, Tagalog, Spanish. There was nothing inscrutable about him for his face, his gestures, his moods and tempers were visible to all. But he could also change his minds as quickly as he could decide on a course of action. He continued the struggle for independence under a new colonial dispensation, but without a fawning subservience.

He was to become the Philippines' most effective resident commissioner in Washington. Armed with a Spanish-American dictionary, he sought U.S. Congress leaders and voiced the sentiments of his countrymen on the question of independence. He learned politics fast in the cloakrooms and corridors of U.S. Congress. One could imagine that diminutive

"castillian" Filipino speaking up to the tall Americans, reposing faith in God, democracy, and Americans.

Religious Issue

The cosmopolitan rich of Manila were attracted towards Quezon's growing leadership. Quezon had brought home the first Jones Bill which defined American policy on the future political status of the Filipinos. American business lobbied against the Jones Law together with the American Catholic hierarchy which raised in the Philippines the issue of Quezon being a Freemason. In a speech in the U.S. Congress, Quezon eloquently affirmed that the Jones Law would bring more autonomy for the Filipinos.

"... Heretofore, we have been the least and the last factor in the Philippine affairs. Hereafter we shall be the first and foremost factor. . . Heretofore things were done by the Philippine government not only without the consent, but on many occasions against the strong opposition of the Filipino people. . . Hereafter nothing will be done without our consent, much less in defiance of our opposition. . ."

The Jones Law declared that the U.S. would withdraw "their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein." It also provided for a Senate of twenty-four elective members to replace the Philippine Commission. Quezon was chosen President of the Senate. This led to his break with Sergio Osmeña, regarded as the Number Two man in the government.

Practical Politician

"The trouble with you," he told Osmeña, "is that you take the game of politics too seriously. You look too far behind you and too far ahead of you. Our people do not understand that . . . All they want is to have the present problem solved, and solved with the least pain. That is all."

Quezon considered party leadership in the government as being "undemocratic and conducive to aristocracy or autocracy." Quezon charged that the Nacionalista Party had be-

come an Osmeña party, that Osmeña had instituted a "one-man rule." All measures that were approved by Osmeña, Quezon declared, became laws, and no law could be approved without Osmeña's approval. Osmeña, Quezon charged, was a dictator.

Quezon was for collective leadership with responsibility reposed in each branch of the government. Osmeña presented his resignation as vice-president of the Council of State and as president of the Nacionalista Party. This was rejected. Osmeña tried to maneuver Quezon when Osmeña followers dominated a newly created Council of Ten. Quezon offered to resign. "My loyalty to my party ends where my loyalty to my country begins," Quezon orated.

He organized in 1922 the Partido Nacionalista Colectivista, and became its president. In the elections of 1922, Quezon's party won more seats in the Lower House. Quezon was reelected Senate President. Osmeña and his party allied with Quezon to form the Partido Nacionalista Consolidado. Quezon's charismatic leadership won not only men, but women as well, to his cause.

Decade of Prosperity

The Philippines enjoyed a measure of prosperity—free trade between the Philippines and the United States was established. Schools, roads, bridges, and hospitals were built. For its imports and exports, the Philippines was dependent on the U.S. The American market was the only market for the Philippines, and this fostered an agricultural economy.

And there was no diversification of agricultural production. While political autonomy was increasing, the economy continued to be moored firmly to the U.S. economy. In the agitation for political independence, Quezon and other national leaders paid little attention to economic independence, and did not foresee the insidious harm that economic dependence on the U.S. would bring about in the Philippines.

Lacking a wider and incisive insight into the economic problems for having concentrated more on the political needs

of the country, he made alliances with oligarchs who personally got more for their closeness to him than he from them, and much less for the national welfare and social well-being of the great masses of the Filipinos. He was the aristocrat who would, in breeches and jodphur boots, bend under the sun and plant rice, who would stop to talk to people on a roadside sari-sari store, who would shed genuine political tears, and still could chasten foe and friend alike, and carry the dignity of his office here and abroad with that passionate affirmation that he was first and foremost a Filipino.

Quezon's popularity faltered when after a stay in the United States in 1931, he issued a statement suggesting that the Philippines should have a dominion status. The radical had turned conservative, even "treacherous" as Osmeña followers charged. The "Free State" plan, devised by Philippine-American sugar interests, would make the Philippines a partner of America for at least ten years, and depending on a plebiscite, the partnership might be prolonged indefinitely. Quezon had been briefed on developments between China and Japan in Manchuria. But the "dominion status" plan was met with demands for "immediate, absolute, and complete independence."

The masses could not accept the view of Quezon even as he explained that withdrawal of the sugar market would mean unemployment and disruption of public works projects. The campaign for independence mounted in the U.S. Osmeña and Roxas would gain politically if they came back with an independence bill. Immediately, Quezon intrigued and inveigled, but Osmeña and Roxas would have none of Quezon's importunings. The anti-independence group in the U.S. were for a long transition to independence, the better to afford themselves the benefits of their investments in the Philippines, enjoy tax-free imports, and export to Filipinos their consumer goods.

Split Worsens

Now Quezon was apprehensive that Osmeña and Roxas might just win their fight for immediate, absolute and com-

plete independence. The Os-Rox mission came back with the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law, in spite of Quezon himself accompanying, a handpicked mixed group of his men to work out a program for common action between the Os-Rox Mission and the Mixed Mission to consider the split opinion in the Philippines with regards to the Iendepence bill.

The two missions came back in 1933. Both were received enthusiastically, but Osmeña and Quezon were already bitterly split.

Quezon had launched a reign of terror, according to Osmeña, and no one could speak against the bill. He challenged Quezon to resign as president of the Senate. He, Osmeña, would also resign as president pro tempore. Quezon wanted to remove opponents holding key positions in both houses. When U.P. President Rafael Palma advocated acceptance of the H-H-C Act, Quezon cut the budget of the University. He went to the T-V-T building to get the support of his publisher-friend Don Alejandro Roces, but the chain supported Osmeña. The DMHM chain, owned by Don Vicente Madrigal, was for Osmeña. He rounded up other friends to purchase the newspapers from Madrigal returning the chain when the Quezon faction won in 1934.

Quezon Campaign

Funds to fight against the H-H-C Act were raised by Quezon from friends and compadres, "merchants and all persons of goodwill." This included the Elizaldes and Sorianos, the Spreckles group, and other sugar entrepreneurs. Quezon raised not only funds but also acquired new friends. Adroitly, he managed to get Artemio Ricarte to support him. Ricarte's support was shown to General Aguinaldo, Bishop Aglipay, and Judge Juan Sumulong, and the three turned pro-Quezon. Even the Communist Party of Crisanto Evangelista sided with Quezon, so did other leaders of the proletariat of the day like Ramon Torres, Francisco Varona of Tondo, and Pedro Abad Santos, the socialist. The realist writer, Manuel L. Arguilla, captured the mood and temper of the times in his story called "The Socialist", where Quezon's charismatic appeal is im-

plied. Osmeña pledged to push the fight against Quezon, "against a personal leadership gained through intrigue and machinations," a leadership through the corrupt influence of the patronage of the cacique. But Quezon had already triumphed; behind him were the radicals and the conservatives. The terms of independence as laid down by the H-H-C Act were turned down. Quezon generously requested Manuel Roxas to accompany him to the U.S. to ask for another independence act.

Political Chameleon

"There are two Mr. Quezons," Roxas huffed. Quezon was both "an astute, slippery politician" and a "high-brow superbly conservative statesman." Quezon said one thing in the Philippines, and another in the United States, so charged Roxas. Quezon was a political chameleon, and to Osmeña and Roxas, that was monstrous enough.

The aristocratic political chameleon went to work in the U.S. Theodore Friend, in a recent book **Between Two Empires**, gives an account of Quezon's diplomatic duplicity in securing a second independence act, the Tydings-McDuffie Law, which was considered identical to the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act.

On November 15, 1935, Quezon and Osmeña were installed as the first President and Vice President of the Commonwealth, respectively. In May of the same year, the Sakdals rose in revolt to forestall the establishment of the Commonwealth, accusing political leaders of being "insincere and inattentive to the demands of the poor." During the first year of the Commonwealth, Quezon presided over the establishment of the Philippine army.

Military service was made compulsory to all Filipino citizens; the civil service was extended to all branches and agencies of the government; steps were taken for the development and adoption of a national language. Foremost of Quezon's pronounced commitments was that to "social justice" to insure the well-being and economic security of all the people.

"The time is past when any government can feel secure without the full support and cooperation of the people—cooperation which is the result of devotion for and loyalty to their government engendered by a sense of satisfaction and happiness which their government insured for them. . .

"What we have in excess of our needs and reasonable luxuries should be spent *pro-bono-publico*—for the public good. The struggle that we see everywhere is between those who have and those who have not. . ."

Quezon worked for the P1 minimum wage and 8-hour working days. Large haciendas were purchased and divided for resale to tenants. Public lands were opened for settlement. The Educational Act was passed providing for the primary education of children; artesian wells, puericulture centers, hospitals, including the Quezon Institute for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis, were established.

Corregidor Incident

When the war broke out in 1941, Quezon was already a sick man. His lungs had been ravaged by tuberculosis, and his previous stays in the United States for treatment had only temporarily halted further breakdown of his health. In Corregidor, where he had evacuated with his war cabinet, Quezon, heard broadcasts from President Roosevelt and other U.S. military officials stating that the U.S. would attend to Europe first. Quezon flared: "Where are the planes this *sinverguenza* is boasting of? *Que demonio!* how typically American to writhe in anguish at the fate of a distant cousin while a daughter is being raped in the backroom!" The Japanese were preparing for bigger offensives. Carlos P. Romulo, over a "Voice of Freedom" broadcast to Bataan, expressed negative reaction to Quezon's proposal for demobilization, evacuation, and neutralization of the Philippines. Quezon called for Romulo, and told the protege:

"I tell you our country is being destroyed. Do you expect me to continue this sacrifice? The fight between the United States and Japan is not our fight. I want to go back and try to protect our own people, Romulo, not America."

When Romulo reminded Quezon that this would be contrary to the President's previous messages, Quezon, still seized with coughing, replied that it was. He said: "We are dying because we are not getting protection from those who promised us protection." Quezon later changed his mind and agreed to be evacuated to Australia and then to the United States.

Dignity in Sickness

He was becoming irritable, but beneath his torturing cough, he carried his dignity. He would deal with President Roosevelt himself, and Roosevelt invited Quezon to meetings of the Pacific War Council. Quezon kept criticizing the American drive in Europe. He insisted that the war be fought in the Pacific first. They heard him, but did not heed him.

MANUEL L. QUEZON: AN APPRAISAL*

By Gabriel F. Fabella

IF I WERE FREE to choose my subject I would have preferred to talk on "The Human Side of Manuel L. Quezon," because I could say a few words on my personal contracts with "The Star of Baler." I have been advised, however, to limit myself as a student of history to an evaluation of the great man's life in perspective. I, therefore, decided to give you my appraisal of his role in history, particularly of the part he played in the political development of the Philippines.

It has been said with some truth that the times in which one lives make the man. But it has also been asserted with as much validity that the man can shape the course of events. Illustrations of the first statement may be cited from the history of many nations. The story of Abraham Lincoln is a case in point. While no one can gainsay the fact that Lincoln was a great man in the best sense of the word, the other fact remains that were it not for the times in which he lived, the name of Abraham Lincoln would hardly be remembered today. He is immortal because Lincoln answered the needs of his times. He preserved the American Union and that is his greatest title to fame and glory. The American people recognize this, and that is probably the reason why at their nation's capital, Lincoln is one of three who have been honored with imposing memorials.

That verdict of the American people is shared by others. The late English novelist-historian, H.G. Wells for one, paid a great tribute to the man when he singled out Abraham Lincoln as the sole representative of America in his list of ten greatest men the world has produced. H.G. Wells was actually saying that Lincoln was the greatest American. If so,

* Address delivered before the Rotary Club of Manila at the Manila Hotel on August 16, 1962. Reprinted from the *Historical Bulletin*, 1962, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 231-238.

it must be acknowledged that it was the American civil war that made Lincoln.

Other examples in history may be given of events making the man, but as the Spaniards say, *para muestra basta un boton*.

Manuel L. Quezon is a good example of the man making history. He determined the course of events in our country from 1907 to the time of his death in 1944. Please, note that the period covered is thirty-seven long years. With your indulgence, permit me to refresh your memory with Quezon's role during the period in question. In a very brief sketch I propose to review with you the highlights of his career to explain how Quezon made history.

Why I start with 1907 and not earlier, needs explanation. It is true that Quezon participated in the Revolution, but his role in that movement was comparatively insignificant. Even his services as provincial fiscal of Mindoro and as governor of Tayabas, (now Quezon Province) cannot be considered national in scope. But with his election as Assemblyman for Tayabas (1907) that is another story. Of course he was never Speaker of the Philippine Assembly but he was the floor leader of the majority party. And those who are familiar with the workings of a lawmaking body know what that means. Moreover, let us not forget that Quezon was the one who nominated Sergio Osmeña for the Speakership of the Philippine Assembly. It may almost be justified to say, therefore, that he made Osmeña. The political partnership which he thus established has no counterpart in the histories of other countries. The Osmeña-Quezon eras in our history were replete with unparalleled achievements.

From 1909 to 1916 Quezon served our country as Resident Commissioner to the United States, and he was the best commissioner we ever sent to Congress. As late as 1954 surviving colleagues of Quezon fondly remembered our leader as the best orator in the House of Representatives in spite of the fact that he hardly knew English in 1909. It was

during his incumbency as resident commissioner that the independence campaign was actually begun. He was not the first representative this country had in Congress because Pablo Ocampo and Benito Legarda preceded him, but their efforts did not quite register. Benito Legarda pertained to the Partido Progresista which was quite lukewarm to independence. Pablo Ocampo was a Nacionalista but he did not possess the caliber of Manuel L. Quezon. Almost singlehanded, he brought home in 1916 the Jones Law which officially and definitely committed in writing the American people's promise of independence. That was the significance of the Jones Law. It was the first official American commitment. Incidentally, it should have been called the Quezon Law because the real author of said bill was Manuel L. Quezon. He confessed this during one of the political controversies in the Philippines. With his success in Congress Quezon earned the right to be the future leader of his people.

As President of the Senate from 1916 to 1922 Quezon shared with Osmeña the responsibility of running the government. Let us recall that since 1916 the unforgettable Francis Burton Harrison permitted the Filipinos to run the government. He was convinced that the only way to train the Filipino for self-government was to give him responsibility. In 1922 Manuel L. Quezon assumed the leading role in the government after he was chosen president of the Partido Nacionalista Consolidado. It was Quezon who maneuvered the Filipino opposition to Leonard Wood because the said Governor initiated the policy of strict construction of the Jones Law. In justice to Leonard Wood it must be said, in passing, that the former chief of staff of the United States Army was technically right. However, succeeding as he did the administration of Harrison whose policy was in consonance with the intent and spirit of the Autonomy Act, the Filipino people thought that Wood was curtailing some of their **inherent** prerogatives. So heated was the controversy between Quezon and Wood that even school pupils at that time used to say that the Governor-General was not **Wood** but **Iron**. He was made of iron all right, but I repeat that Wood was technically right. Both Harrison and Wood

were right except that the first interpreted the law liberally, the other, very strictly. The conflict lasted until Leonard Wood's death.

The Filipino people at that time were all befuddled by Wood's intransigence, but after a lapse of some thirty years, we have a better perspective of things. We must admit that the Filipino conflict with Wood did not promote the cause of independence. On the contrary, it retarded the progress of the movement so that the Filipinos decided to cooperate with the next American chief executive. The Stimson era of cooperation thus began. But while Quezon's conflict with Wood did retard the coming of independence, it served to give notice to the Americans that they could not ride roughshod over the backs of the Filipino leaders. Thereafter, America adopted a cautious policy. She sent here governors who were acceptable to the Filipino people.

Some of you may recollect the case of Nicholas Roosevelt who wrote a book *The Philippines: A Treasure and a Problem*. He was proposed for appointment as Governor-General of the Philippines. The Filipinos vehemently opposed Roosevelt's appointment because of his well known views derogatory to the Philippines. Consequently, Nicholas Roosevelt's nomination for the governorship was withdrawn. The United States had to send here another one who was more understanding of Filipino aspirations.

Then came the enactment of the first independence law better known as the Hare-Hawes-Cutting bill which was the fruit of the labors of the Osmeña-Roxas mission. Instead of bringing happiness to our country, however, it occasioned the greatest and most turbulent political conflict ever witnessed in this country. It rocked the whole nation from Batanes to Tawi-tawi. The reason was Quezon's opposition to the proffer of independence.

Why Quezon opposed the Hare-Hawes-Cutting legislation is still a matter of conjecture, specially because Quezon like all Nacionalistas was known as a champion of "immediate complete and absolute independence." His enemies, there-

fore, had apparent reason to call him insincere: that he adopted the slogan of the Nacionalistas merely as a convenient sibboleth to keep himself in power. It was even bruited about that while in America Quezon used to tell the Americans he was against the independence because he was not sure that the Filipinos were capable of maintaining an independent existence. Of course, he would never say that in the Philippines for that would mean his calvary. He was insincere his political opponents insisted.

The verdict of his people is that Quezon must have been sincere in the light of his actuations on the whole. As "Old Abe" once said, "You can fool all the people at one time; you can fool part of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time." That he was truly sincere is attested by the fact that Quezon's last thoughts before he died were of his beloved country, and if it were but possible, he wanted to die in his native land. It is, therefore, hard to believe that he was fooling his people all that time.

Why he was against the acceptance of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting law, might have been motivated by reasons of his own. It could not be on account of the bill's provisions on military and naval bases, nor its economic provisions and neither on the powers of the United States High Commissioner. His political enemies accused him of personal ambition to keep himself in power. Acceptance of the independence law would mean promoting the political interests of Osmeña and Roxas, and he was afraid that his own prestige and power would be weakened thereby forfeiting his leadership of the nation. He must have remembered the Jones law as having paved the way for Quezon's rise to power. With these considerations in mind, Quezon had the bill rejected in the Philippine Legislature, and decided to go America to secure a better law. Thus Quezon staked his political future in one great gamble. Strangely enough he won.

Quezon's success in reviving the independence law that he killed is like the raising of Lazarus from the dead. The Jews could never believe that a dead man buried several

days could be brought back to life. Quezon's opponents thought the same of the independence bill. It was an impossible thing considering that Congress leaders had openly come out and said that no better law could be obtained at that time. What his enemies failed to reckon with was Quezon's intuition and political sagacity.

Quezon, to my mind, did not secure a better law than the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill. Neither was it new. I am inclined to agree with Senator Camilo Osias that the so-called new law was the same old law but for a change of some fifty words. It was the same ink in a new bottle Osias insisted. The provision on military and naval bases in the Tydings-McDuffie law did not make it any better, as shown by the fact that after independence was attained our people found it necessary to permit by treaty the existence here of such bases as they still do today. Perhaps the old law was then better from this point of view. At that time, however, Quezon made the Tydings-McDuffie law appear the better law and it was to his credit that his people believed him.

The Tydings-McDuffie law was Quezon's greatest political triumph. And he won because he carefully analyzed the political situation and circumstances in the United States at that time. Osmeña and Roxas were over-anxious to return to the Philippines and "bring home the bacon." After President Hoover's veto of the bill, the Osrox mission was asked if they favored the approval of the independence bill over the presidential veto, and they agreed despite Quezon's advice to the contrary. But Quezon was correct in his prognostication.

In the November elections of 1932 the Democratic candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt was catapulted to power. Roxas and Osmeña should have taken into consideration the fact that the Democratic party had always stood for independence. Had they waited for the change of administration, they could have secured a better law than the Hare-Hawes-Cutting. That was the mistake of Osmeña and Roxas. They could not wait, and in failing to wait, they lost a very great opportunity. That was where the political magician outwitted them. The Ty-

dings-McDuffie law paved the way for Quezon's election as President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

As first president of the Commonwealth Quezon demonstrated his unequalled statesmanship. Long before his inauguration as president, and even as candidate for said office, Quezon already had a blueprint of what he expected to do. He would prepare the country for the advent of independence.

In 1907 the first bill approved in the Philippine Assembly was the Gabaldon law which appropriated P1,000,000 for the construction of barrio schools. The reason is obvious. The most imperative need of the Philippines in 1907 was schools and the people's representatives were equal to the situation by meeting their needs. That was statesmanship of the first order and Osmeña and Quezon should be given credit for that legislation. As a matter of fact even the skeptical Americans applauded the actuation of the First Philippine Assembly.

Immediately after the inauguration of the Commonwealth Quezon called the First National Assembly to a special session. The first message he sent to said body was a proposal for the defence of the Philippines after independence. He had things all worked out. He requested President Roosevelt to detail Douglas MacArthur with the Commonwealth government as military adviser. It was MacArthur and his staff which included Dwight D. Eisenhower who prepared the details of the bill for national defence. The National Assembly gladly approved the bill because they knew that that was the imperative need of the moment. Quezon should be credited with this statesman-like piece of legislation. In fact most of his actuations as President were directed towards the definite goal—preparation for independence.

Quezon mapped out a program for the development of the country with a view to economic sufficiency. The socio-economic program of the present administration had its beginnings during his administration. Our only regret is that Quezon apparently neglected this phase of the national problem during the entire period of the independence campaigns.

The preparation for economic independence was too short and too late. The consequence is that we still are economically dependent upon aliens to this day.

He was aware that the national well-being of his people was dependent upon the contentment, happiness and prosperity of the majority. Since the majority of our people belong to the peasantry or to the proletariat, he paid particular attention to their needs. He, therefore, launched his "social justice" program which was similar to Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal." In this way Quezon anticipated Magsaysay's solicitude for the common tao.

As the chief magistrate of the nation President Quezon established definite criteria for public service. He set the example of strict and blind justice and he did not hesitate to punish erring public servants. He would not abet graft and corruption, and in spite of his cordial relations with high officials he ousted from office those who exceeded or abused their powers. Thus, Quezon is fondly remembered by his people as the best executive this country has produced. And when I say this I am not unmindful of Macapagal's efforts, but it is too premature to hazard an evaluation of his administration. Only time will tell. All I am saying here is that Quezon has not been surpassed in the magnitude and virility of his achievements.

In retrospect let us review the legacy of Quezon to posterity. **First.** He left to us famous utterances which constitute what we might call "Quezonisms" like: (a) "My loyalty to my party ends where loyalty to my country begins." This was stated at the time of the split of the *Nacionalista* into two wings, the *Colectivista* and the *Unipersonalista*. (b) "I prefer a government run like Hell by Filipinos to a Paradise government run by foreigners." (c) "What a beautiful spectacle for our country to behold political fights limited to discussion of principles and eliminating personalities."⁹ This statement was made during one of his conflicts with his friend Sergio Osmeña. There are many others too numerous to mention.

Second. Quezon's concept of public service was in line with the principle that public office is a public trust. He not only believed this principle, but he practiced it. That was why he would not sanction graft and corruption and punished those who took advantage of their offices to enrich themselves, and those of their relatives and proteges.

Third. His solicitude for the common man became the ideal for his successors in the presidency. He believed that the tao deserves a square deal from everyone including those of his landlords and patrons whose general attitude was to forget his welfare.

Fourth. Quezon was a champion of human dignity. He would not submit himself to humiliations nor would he humiliate others no matter how humble. He gave every man due respect because he believed in the equality of all men.

Fifth. He yielded to no man in his solicitude for the welfare of his country, and if he died in 1944 (that was before the end of World War II) it was partly because of his anxiety over the fate of the Philippines. Like Franklin D. Roosevelt Quezon was actually a war casualty.

Sixth. Quezon set the example as leader for succeeding presidents. While he sought advice from friends, as president he chose to lead. During his administration all important legislations came from Malacañang. One assemblyman even described the lawmaking body of his time as Quezon's "Rubber Stamp Assembly"; such was the force of Quezon's dynamic leadership. As a leader of men he was like Franklin D. Roosevelt who died a champion. Quezon was never defeated in a political fight. His whole life in fact was **The Good Fight**.

As a parting word, permit me to say that it is an honor and a privilege for this country to have produced a man and a leader of such versatility as Quezon. He would have been great in any country, in any clime, at any time. Had he been born in Germany he might have been a Bismarck; if in America, he should have been one of the greatest presidents of the United States. I am convinced of this. Claro M.

Recto, who used to be one of his formidable opponents, ended as an ardent admirer of Quezon as leader. If as Blumentritt said that a man of Rizal's caliber appears but once every two centuries, I would add that a leader of Quezon's sagacity and practical wisdom is almost as rare. I close this talk, therefore, with this invocation:

Oh God! Give us men tried and true,
Give us leaders truly great;
Send us another Manuel L. Quezon.

QUEZON'S GIFT: A DREAM OF SOCIAL JUSTICE*

By Emerenciana Y. Arcellana

THE YEAR of the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth, 1935, was the year of my graduation from elementary school, in the seventh and last grade of which I first became truly conscious that there was such a thing as a government of the Philippines. Almost synonymous with this government at the time was the name of its foremost leader, Manuel L. Quezon.

The year 1935 was also my first year in high school, as it was the first year of Quezon's six-year term as President of the Commonwealth. Quite early in this incumbency, the name of Manuel L. Quezon became synonymous with his pet idea, social justice. The term occurs and recurs in almost all of his speeches, messages, press statements, interviews, conferences and forum discussions from 1935 to 1944, the year of his death.

Just what was Quezon's theory of social justice all about? Did Quezon in his actions keep faith with his theory? What motives impelled him to adopt this theory and promote it whenever possible during his administration?

Even before he called it **social justice**, Quezon had been moving towards a formulation and definition of his self-assigned mission. As governor of Tayabas province (now Quezon), and even earlier as provincial fiscal of the same province, his championship of the poor was well known. This bias gained such currency that Quezon felt called upon to explain in his public pronouncements that he did not side with the poor simply because they were poor. "I have made known to the friends who are constantly at my side that my fervent desire is to aid and take care of the poor, but that such assistance will be within reason, for although a person

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be poor, I cannot help him unless he be entitled to it by right. That is what I really cannot do—side with those who are in error. . . .”

During his first term as governor of Tayabas he told the people of his province, especially the poor, that he needed their assistance in the establishment of a clean government and honest public service. That did not mean, Quezon promptly added, that he took the part of the poor as against the wealthy, or that he would aid only the poor. It simply meant that as the poor did not have any means to pay for their needs nor were they learned enough to help themselves, he considered it reasonable to defend them and their rights if they were aggrieved.

That, Quezon said later as President of the Commonwealth, was similar to what he had in mind regarding social justice. It meant “justice not for a few alone, but for all, especially for the poor workingmen who are, as it usually happens, injured in their rights; it is justice for everyone, now especially, when all are aware that the field laborers and factory hands are of the belief that they must be given that to which they are entitled.”

The quotation is from a speech entitled “Social Justice” which Quezon delivered before the representatives of labor under the leadership of Cresenciano Torres at a Malacañan Palace luncheon in their honor, February 17, 1938.

Some four months before this, at the commencement exercises of the University of Santo Tomas College of Law, on October 2, 1937, Quezon had emphatically explained his criticism of the judiciary on the Cuevo-Barredo case thus:

“My administration is committed, by its preelection platform, to ameliorate the lot of the common men. The Constitution of the Philippines imposes upon the Government the inescapable duty to exert my influence to secure the cooperation of every branch of the Government to redeem our pledge and, above all, to carry into effect the mandate of the Constitution.

"I come from the masses. My ancestors were of the poor class. I am not afraid nor ashamed to confess that my heart beats in unison with the hearts of the needy and for them. Justice shall be done to the poor and the humble in this country so long as I am President. I am determined to fight for the rights of everyone, rich and poor alike, but more particularly for those who are unable to pay handsomely for expensive lawyers. And let it be known that I shall use all the powers of my office to win this fight. . ."

The powers to which Quezon referred included those implicit in his oath of office, "to do justice to every man." Indeed, there is evidence that Quezon was constantly aware of his tremendous responsibility. Wherever he spoke—whether on a routine inspection visit in Tuguegarao, or at a governor's conference in Malacañan, before the National Assembly at its opening or closing session, before various civic groups, before planters and sugar central owners, before students, before labor leaders—whatever might be the main subject of his speech for the occasion, such as the launching of a TB fund campaign or his birthday anniversary—Quezon adverted to the plight of the underprivileged and to his plans and his moves to ameliorate their lot. Quezon's personal burden was the poor, and it seemed that in his heart and in his mind he was convinced that an intelligent social justice program was the ideal carry-all.

The agrarian problem Quezon considered the foremost social problem of his time, and he stated it foursquare before the Assembly on December 21, 1935 in the course of his congratulatory speech to the First National Assembly for its "unparalleled record" of accomplishment during its inaugural session. There was one measure, he stated, which would have given him the greatest satisfaction to recommend for enactment then, and that was "legislation which would solve once and for all the problem of the relationship between the tenants and the landowners, especially in the large estates."

There were negotiations then being conducted by the Secretary of Agriculture and Commerce with the owners of the estates in Manila, Batangas, Laguna, Bulacan, Bataan,

and Rizal so that once acquired by the government, these lands might be resold to tenants according to conditions still under study. It was well to bear in mind, however, Quezon even then admonished, that the mere acquisition of these estates by the Government might not solve the social and labor questions that had arisen. The problem as he saw it involved the relationship between tenants and landowners—whether within large or small estates, owned by individuals or corporations, public or private—transcending in importance practically all other social problems in the Philippines. Quezon thought that lack of fairness in the treatment of the workers in the field necessarily resulted in social unrest. "I have no doubt," he said, "that if we could secure for every tenant or field what in equity should come to him, as his share in the products of his toil, there would be more contentment amongst the poorer classes of our people."

However, Quezon was not able to recommend during the short Assembly session then the necessary legislation of the subject, as "the Government was not yet in possession of all the facts required to formulate a definite policy in which the rights of all parties concerned" would be duly considered to Quezon's satisfaction. As Quezon himself explained apologetically, the difficulty of the problem was further complicated by the lack of a uniform tenancy system in the Philippines, the system varying not only by province but by municipality in some places, according to century-old customs and practices. For all his reputation for impulsiveness, Quezon was not one to be rushed into a sweeping land reform program without due regard to facts and consequences.

Still, he seemed anxious enough to see injustice corrected, as may be proved by his subsequent acts toward reasonable expropriation and resettlement. As early as possible during his Commonwealth presidency, he had ordered a thorough investigation of the all-important question for purposes of corrective legislation. His interest in an improved relationship between landlord and tenant throughout the Philippines would be reiterated again and again in his messages to the National Assembly and in his speeches to different groups.

He was annoyed that the Tenancy Law which had been in the statute books for several years had not been put into effect, as its enforcement in any province depended on an affirmative resolution of the majority of the municipal councils of the province, thus augmenting discontent and social unrest.

The large landed estates or haciendas presented a thorny problem. Quezon's administration was committed under the coalition platform to a policy favoring the acquisition of these estates at a fair and just price, so that they might be sold in small lots to their tenants. However, in his message to the National Assembly at its next opening session on June 16, 1936, regarding "the country's condition and problems," Quezon stated with regret that after a careful study of the question, he had reached the conclusion that such a step would not remedy the situation, but would only transfer to the Government the agrarian and social problems existing in these haciendas; nor could expropriation and resale be carried out without great financial loss to the country.

Quezon recalled how friar lands were acquired by the Government for the purpose of reselling them in small parcels to the men who were working on these lands, but "for several causes," the result was that large areas of these haciendas were now in the hands of other people, the lot of the tillers not being in the least improved. The investment, therefore, said Quezon, of several millions of pesos by the Government in the purchase of friar lands had redounded (with few exceptions) to the benefit of people not contemplated by the Government. In this transaction the Government lost heavily and as Quezon saw it, there might be some justification in exposing the country to this financial loss if the purpose of the project would be achieved. The purpose was to enable the majority of the people working on the haciendas to become owners of the land they were then cultivating. Quezon at the time was certain, however, that such would not be the case. Hence, despite the coalition platform commitment, Quezon decided to junk wholesale expropriation of haciendas and proposed resettlement in-

stead. He said he did not wish to "impose upon our people the burden of a national debt which our children will have to bear merely to give a few individuals the opportunity to acquire particular areas at the expense of the people when there is so much available fertile lands in Mindanao."

Meanwhile, Quezon advocated the adoption of measures similar to those adopted in Ireland to solve agrarian problems there. He also recommended the immediate passage of a law authorizing the expropriation of those portions of the large haciendas which were urban in character and were occupied by the houses of the tenants. With the opportunity to own their homes thus assured, Quezon felt, the tenants might no longer find the settlement of their current difficulties relative to their farm lands of urgent necessity.

Hence, Quezon in a subsequent message to the Assembly certified to the necessity for the immediate enactment of a law authorizing the President to order the institution of expropriation proceedings, or to enter into negotiations, for the purpose of acquiring portions of large landed estates which were then used as homesites.

This admittedly was a departure from Quezon's preelection platform. His reasons at the time seemed convincing enough. Why deprive property-owners by expropriation when so much idle land still remained unappropriated elsewhere? And especially since past experience seemed to indicate that expropriation was no satisfactory solution to the agrarian problem? There must be other ways. Evidently, as he had said time and again, Quezon's concept of social justice did not mean simply to take from the rich and give to the poor. Besides, Quezon was not only an idealist but a pragmatist, too. Understandably, his state-of-the-nation speech on June 18, 1936, advocated a policy of **progressive conservatism**. And quite consistently, in his speech he titled "Social Justice" and delivered on the first anniversary of the Philippine Commonwealth, he stressed:

"It is my ambition that this new nation will be able to undertake changes in its national economy, in its industrial

and agricultural organizations, looking toward the betterment of the working class without depriving capital of its rights, without endangering our social and political institutions, and all in the midst of peace and order, by cooperation between [sic] all the elements of the community."

Notwithstanding this conservative statement, Quezon's message to the National Assembly less than a year later, on September 3, 1937, dealt with expropriation proceedings for the acquisition of large haciendas:

"When a class, family, or group has monopolized vast domains and the people thereby converted into mere serfs, history is replete with instances when in their wrath the people have revolted and by force deprived the landlords of their possessions. The Philippines is not the first country which has faced the land problems caused by the ownership of big estates. The problem upon which the executive and legislative officials of this Government have been elected contains a specific pledge that we shall solve this problem."

Thus, while Quezon never once lost sight of the top economic problem of his day, his tentative solutions varied, and his actions might even suggest a vacillating policy. However, it is reasonable to assume that he was trying, with the means available to him, to explore possibilities and weigh alternatives. One may say that for a President whose powers were constitutionally vast, Quezon went about the problem too cautiously and conservatively. But he was far from complacent. Already, the **Sakdalistas** were pressing impatiently and aggressively for reforms.

There were, of course, other problems besides the agrarian. Quezon was also concerned with revising the several pension systems then in force—particularly the Teacher's Retirement Fund—which were then in danger of running deficits. It was Quezon's persistent efforts to promote the interests of employee-contributors and safeguard the solvency of pension funds which finally established the Government Service Insurance System in 1937 by consolidating previous

individual pension systems and extending the system to cover all government employees.

On June 4, 1936, before the Rotary Club of Manila, Quezon had to defend the creation of the Rice and Corn Corporation, expounding on the functions of Government. With a hint of impatience characteristically Quezonian, he complained that everybody was criticizing, nobody was suggesting anything new. "We have had 35 years, at least, of this situation," he said. "There were years when there was too much rice, and the price of rice was not sufficient to pay the poor farmers; at times the price was so high that the consumer could not pay for it."

On his 58th birthday on August 19, 1936, Quezon in a radio broadcast declared that the keynote of his birthday celebration was higher wages for Filipino laborers. Endorsing the campaign launched by the Anti-T.B. Society against tuberculosis, he appealed for support not only in the usual ways; he directed attention to preventive measures, saying that "to eradicate tuberculosis from the Philippines, we must eliminate the causes that have made the white plague the one disease that claims more victims every year than any other disease known to us in the Philippines. The most common cause of tuberculosis is malnutrition. Our poor people are underfed, and lacking strength, they are an easy prey to tuberculosis. They are underfed because they are underpaid."

Quezon therefore urged all sectors concerned to pay better wages to all laborers both on farm and in factory. He said that it was no excuse to say that in comparison with neighboring countries we were better off; the fact was that the wages we paid were not sufficient to give the workingmen what he needed for his support and the sustenance of his family. In words that rang with authority and conviction, Quezon said: "It is trite to say that the first and most fundamental right of a man is his right to live. This right imposes upon well-organized society the duty to provide him with the means for his existence. That other countries

around us fail in this primary duty is no good excuse for us to evade it."

Quezon pleaded on his 58th birthday celebration for all to join him in one concerted effort to improve the living conditions of our masses. He expressed the wish to see this done spontaneously by those in a position to do so "without our having to impose it by legislation." Social justice, he said, "is far more beneficent if it comes as a matter of sentiment and not of law." In a sense, Quezon, repeated appeals for voluntary personal action for social amelioration anticipated by some two decades Nehru's policy of voluntary land gifts from the rich for distribution to the poor.

Still, Quezon was not one to rely solely on private volition. As if to set an example, that very day (his 58th birthday) he signed an executive order fixing a minimum wage for all government laborers, an increase of 20% over that which they had been receiving in the past, since "by all signs and portents the country was out of the depression and there was an upward swing in our trade and business." This executive order (#49) fixed the minimum daily wages to be paid to able-bodied common laborers employed by, or under the direct supervision of the different branches of the National Government. Five days later came Executive Order #50 fixing the minimum salary for employees of the Government.

Before capitalists and industrialists, wealthy planters and other groups, as well as to the whole nation, Quezon repeatedly emphasized the urgency of a revision of traditional attitudes toward a more just treatment of labor if we were "to preserve substantially our accustomed way of life."

From representatives of labor Quezon pleaded for help and cooperation, saying that they could aid the Government "by exposing any improper governmental administration, and by telling what must be done in their interest." However, he advised them never to resort to force to secure their objectives or to break the laws of the land, to cultivate the qualities of patience and self-control, while the Government was

"striving industriously to obtain social security and financial amelioration for the working masses."

Quezon often reiterated the responsibility of government "never to tolerate any improper habit or custom." He enjoined justices of the peace to be upright and honest non-partisans, because "the justice of the peace is in many cases the only court of justice for the poor man. . . I am striving to convince the people that in the Philippines the poor man receives justice from our Government the same as the man of means."

In a speech delivered at Tuguegarao, Cagayan, on February 28, 1936, Quezon declared: "The Government must be just, must protect the people from abuses and wrong doings; and if anyone violates the law or commits abuses, it is the duty of the Government officials to go after such man, regardless of who he is (applause). We must have but one norm of conduct in our dealings with the people. The law must be the same for the powerful and for the weak, for the rich and for the poor. . . ."

On January 20, 1937, before departing for the United States, Quezon explained, at the banquet in honor of members of the Cabinet, the National Assembly, and provincial governors and treasurers, how the government was to function in his absence, and then proceeded to discuss social justice again in one of his more inspired speeches. He spoke of the duty to uphold social justice in accordance with our Constitution. Linking it with the national defense program then recently launched, Quezon said: "It will serve us none, gentlemen, to instruct all the Filipinos in the use of arms, if with it we do not inculcate in the heart of the Filipino the love of the country in which he lives, so that he will be disposed to fight and die for it. The love of the citizen for his country should not be alone for the beauty of its panoramas nor for the riches of its soil. Love of country springs from the satisfaction one finds in living in it, from the intimate security in which one can live freely and quietly under a just government where the natural resources of the country are the nation's own and for the good of all its inhabitants. . . ."

We have to give to the Filipino nation a just government, an honest government."

He directed the government officials to explain to that part of our society "which enjoys privileges and comforts that if it wants to continue enjoying these privileges and comforts, it should give to the less fortunate part of our population a just share of the fruits to which it is entitled because of its honest labor. Quezon declared that domestic tranquility in the Philippines could only be guaranteed by justice. All the military preparations then being made with so much money and labor, he said, would not suffice to assure internal peace if the farmhand, the factory worker, and the small employee did not receive their just share of the fruits of their labor.

At Iloilo on August 25, 1937, after discussing local politics and administration, Quezon enjoined his audience on behalf of the working class thus: "We must all cooperate to find the means and to use these to improve the lot of the working class in the Philippines. Particularly should the provinces enjoying the benefits of the sugar industry immediately and substantially raise the wages of labor. No industry in the Philippines is being benefited by our trade relations with America nearly so much as the sugar industry. There have sprung in Negros, Iloilo and Pampanga in the last few years, millionaires as we have never had before. They have palaces, automobiles, and live a life of comfort and luxury here and abroad. I am not criticizing them; it is their privilege to spend their money as they please. I am merely stating a fact, for I want to point out that we are doing everything we can, not only to prevent the collapse, but to maintain in full blast, the prosperity of the sugar industry. But the government demands that this prosperity be shared with the workingmen in the sugar fields and in the sugar centrals. Very little, if any, of the immense profits of the sugar industry, has gone into the pockets of labor."

Quezon thus said in all earnestness to owners of sugar centrals and to proprietors of sugar lands that unless they raised the wages of the laborers and treated them better, the

Government and the country might lose interest in the protection of the sugar industry. He stated that the Government could not be the servants of a privileged class, but the whole people, and should not permit an injustice to be done, much less perpetuated, against any constituent part of the community. He warned the sugar barons that unless the sugar industry of its own account increased immediately the wages of its workingmen, he would ask the National Assembly to enact legislation that would compel that industry to do so.

He then proceeded to explain the meaning of social justice for a clearer understanding of the concept. He said it did not mean favoring the poor or favoring labor against anybody regardless of whether he was right or not. It did not mean dispossessing the rich of his lawful property and distributing that property among the unemployed. Social justice, in other words, did not mean communism. Social justice involved all, it meant justice for every constituent element in the community. "Of course, today (1937), when you speak of social justice, you emphasize the need of giving better treatment to labor, because in the present state of the Philippine society labor is not receiving its due." This was why he was making speeches advising the people to remember that the right to property has its limitations—the limitations imposed by the welfare of the community where one lives. Again he said that property is secondary to the right to live, that whenever a conflict occurs between the right to property and the right to live, the latter should prevail.

Thus, Quezon recommended to the National Assembly on February 16, 1938, the enactment of a law ordering the prompt payment of salaries and wages by employers on pain of stiff penalties. He likewise recommended the reenactment of Act No. 2549, as amended by Act No. 3958, prohibiting, among others, the payment of salaries or wages by means of tokens, chits, or objects, as the former act had been expressly repealed by the Revised Penal Code.

On April 30, 1938, Quezon recommended to the National Assembly the enactment of a law to repeal Act No. 1874 commonly known as the Employers' Liability and to amend

the provisions of Act No. 3428 known as the Workmen's Compensation Act, so as to afford greater protection to laborers who suffered injuries or death in connection with their employment. Quezon also sought to increase the penalty for refusal or negligence of an employer to send to the Bureau of Labor the notice of information required by the latter Act of all injuries received by their employees in the course of their employment. Thus did Quezon initiate the rectification of existing laws in order to preclude decisions on labor cases similar to those made by "fifteenth century judges."

The cedula tax was abolished, "because this is a tax that is a burden to the poor," Quezon declared at the Luneta on the second anniversary of the Commonwealth. "From now on, no tax shall be collected that will not be based on the ability of the tax-paying public to pay. Until now the poor are heavily taxed in our country. . . What the rich pay for taxes are only taken from their surplus, but the poor get their money to pay their taxes from their means of subsistence and subsistence of their families."

Quezon had the Probation Law repealed on September 1, 1937. This law had been made to depend upon the willingness or ability of the provincial governments to appropriate the funds necessary for the payment of salaries of the probation officers, as a result of which no province made any provision. The privilege thus became effective only in Manila (on national funds). Quezon explained that this might give the impression that the government was favoring the rich as against the poor, since there were likely to be more rich people residing in the city than elsewhere.

On September 3, 1937, Quezon in a message to the National Assembly certified to the necessity of a heavy penalty for **jueteng**, in the form of long imprisonment, saying that "Gambling is doubtless one of the weaknesses of human nature that should be dealt with by governments with sound discretion; but **jueteng** is not gambling. It is merely an organized fraud—a fraud of such shocking proportion that it has become the greatest scandal in our community life. The worst victims of this criminal racketeering are the poor."

Its existence, he said, is common knowledge, but it has been impossible to eradicate it, because the penalty is either a small fine or a few days' imprisonment.

Quezon also caused the abolition of the sweepstakes after a few years of operation for related reasons: it tended to be patronized by the poor, who could ill afford it, on the long, long chance that they might be bailed out of poverty; thus, the rich, who were indifferent to the sweepstakes, stayed rich or got richer, while the poor got poorer for betting in the national lotteries. Later, however, the sweepstakes were restored to finance government charities.

Why did Quezon choose to champion social justice in his time? Why did he decide to launch this almost lone personal crusade? Was he genuinely interested in the plight of the poor, the common *tao*? Or was he thinking of himself, too, and his family, which had in the course of his successful public career by then become fairly wealthy, and therefore as a class, vulnerable to the unsettling doctrines which in the 1930s had begun to filter into our young nation's consciousness, further complicating its already manifold problems associated with the preparation for independence? Was Quezon aware, not only of the *isms* overrunning Europe and Asia, but also of the New Deal in America, which was President Franklin D. Roosevelt's own way of keeping those *isms* at bay?

Did Quezon really feel for the poor? He said so countless times. He demonstrated this appreciably. Perhaps the best clue is in his autobiography *The Good Fight*, in which is related one of the most tender scenes of his youth:

I told my father that I was assured of my room and board and that for my clothing and other necessary expenses as a student, I would do some other work in my spare time. (Quezon is here referring to his admission to the University of Sto. Tomas as a scholar.) My father was the happiest man on earth. 'My son, I shall be going back home in two hours. I won't bother you with my advice. Just be good and be just to your fellowmen. No matter how high your station in life may be, never forget that you came from poor parents and that you belong to the poor. Don't forsake them, whatever happens.'

'God bless you,' he said when we parted. I never saw him again.

Indeed, shortly after this his father was to die in the province. These then, it turned out, were his father's last words to him. What son could forget his father's dying wish? What son could ignore its quiet mandate?

My interview with Fr. Pacifico J. Ortiz, S.J., who was for many years Quezon's private chaplain, and was with him all through the hard evacuation days of 1941 until he died in New York in August 1944 (after just having listened to some heartening news about the Philippine campaign) may be summed up in the following quotation—I write this interview from memory, and these as far as I recall were Fr. Ortiz's words:

For all his flair for the bright and gay life, Quezon loved the poor sincerely. And they loved him, too—one could sense this instantly whenever he moved amongst them. He was no Mag-saysay, who would jump fences barefoot. But he cared enough for them to plan for them and fight for them with all his might. His travels abroad, particularly in the United States, where he had occasion to observe at first hand the Rooseveltian New Deal in actual operation, and in Mexico, which more closely approximated Philippine conditions, and his painstaking efforts to keep abreast of developments in Europe, with Mussolini and Hitler asserting hegemony by upsetting the status quo, and of course, his awareness of Communist ideology and the Soviet Russian experiment—all these were factors urging a more positive program for social amelioration. Of course, his ideas then might be considered quite conservative now, but for his time they were bold enough to embarrass some people. . . . No, Quezon never forgot his father's parting admonition. He was loyal to his beginnings.

Did Quezon think of himself, too, and of his family, as well as of the nation he led for nearly three decades? The question is almost superfluous. What family man does not think of himself, his job, and his family, in whichever order? With Quezon the thought became even more pressing with each illness, or rather each flare-up of TB, which was his chronic illness. In his busy and colorful life, death loomed like a raven at the door. He was conscious of it, and could

not but wish that he were physically more able, that he might do more to insure the well-being of the family and the nation which were his twin responsibilities. He felt that freedom was the best atmosphere in which to live, and that freedom was best secured by justice. As a keen student of Thomism, Quezon knew that peace (social peace, individual peace, world peace) was possible only with justice. Even as he sponsored woman suffrage, he thought and spoke about his daughters—of a posterity in which he may no longer be around, but which, if he had anything to do with it, he wanted to be fair and just to all, including women; if society is to be stable it must be just; if people are to be happy, they must believe in the justice of their society. Indeed, it is one of the inexplicable ironies of fate that his widow and older daughter were later to perish at the hands of the underprivileged, whose cause Quezon so ably championed while he lived.

Did Quezon seek to outflank communism and other possible radical doctrines violative of his sense of values? It would seem so. He was familiar with contemporary history. He was both well-read and well-travelled. He was a practical politician, true, but he was a statesman, too. In the Thomistic tradition he was for a happy social order in which all the component parts cooperated harmoniously, because each one got his just due. Obviously, Quezon saw the handwriting on the wall even before it could be fully written for the Philippines, because he knew what went on elsewhere.

Quezon was a leader who felt for his people and sensed what they needed; one might say he thought for them, too, and acted as he felt necessary. He thought that social justice was the alternative to revolution, which is the bloody price of social injustice, but not necessarily its solution. He knew that long, unmitigated suffering and deprivation could not forever fester without relief, that such a condition had better be remedied as early as possible or the consequences for the society he loved would be frightening. He had a statesman's foresight.

Not the least that he foresaw was his own approaching death. He spoke of death as if it were for him a constant companion and a consistent reminder of his life's mission. To groups of listeners both here and abroad he would speak of his awareness that he would not live forever, that politics and the power that it had given him was only a means by which he might do good, do right, and see that justice was done in accordance with the principles of the Constitution, his oath of office, and beyond this, in accordance with the will of God. When he spoke thus, it was not really to be sentimental or to appeal to the emotions of his hearers. It was not to gain sympathy for himself but support for his cause; it was really to persuade his audience that his motives were noble, his intentions honest, and his ideals the highest for his people. Quezon was no tearful sentimentalist; he was realist enough to be privy to the ephemeral nature of man, the brevity of human life, and therefore the need for a man to serve his fellowmen. In this personal dedication he found fulfillment, and therefore a measure of happiness, and perhaps, too, a glimpse of immortality.

QUEZON AND THE CHURCH *

By Frederic S. Marquardt

JOSE RIZAL and MANUEL L. QUEZON were both born into the Catholic religion. Both were educated in church schools. Both spent many of their adult years outside the church. But that's the end of the parallel religious experiences of the two leading Philippine heroes. While historians differ as to whether Rizal reasserted his faith in the church, there is no doubt that Manuel Quezon died a Catholic.

There was an altar in the room in which death came to Quezon at Saranac Lake on August 1, 1944. A frequently read Bible was near his bed. Quezon took almost daily communion from his personal chaplain, the Rev. Fr. Pacifico A. Ortiz, S.J., during his long illness. He and the members of his family said the rosary together every night.

Quezon's was no deathbed conversion, or more accurately reconversion. For the last 14 years of his life he was a practicing Catholic. But for the previous 25 years he had nothing to do with the church. It was during this early period that he was married in a civil ceremony in Hongkong, later repeating the vows before a priest almost as an afterthought. During his break with the church he was the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the Philippines, an order generally regarded as anti-clerical. The Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite Masons in Washington, D.C., elected him to the 33rd degree, highest honor in Masonry. Caballero and Concepcion, in their biography on Quezon, date this event as October 23, 1929.

Less than a year later Quezon was back in the Catholic fold. Time, the American newsmagazine, reported in its is-

* Reprinted from the Philippine Free Press, December 11, 1954, pp. 34, 143, 144.

sue of December 9, 1935: "Catholic-born Manuel Quezon retracted Masonry on his 52nd birthday, 1930, aboard the s.s. **Empress of Japan**, in the presence of Most Rev. Michael J. O'Doherty, Archbishop of Manila. Two years later he demitted (i.e. resigned) from his loge."

In his autobiography, **The Good Fight**, Quezon was amazingly sketchy about his religious experiences. It should be noted, of course, that the book was unfinished at the time of Quezon's death, and was published posthumously after his friends and relatives had done some work on the manuscript. He was a sick man when he dictated the book, and he had no opportunity to put it in final shape. As the head of a government in exile, he was taking a high-level part in the struggle that would leave scars on his country for years to come. There was little time for reflection or research. Still, Quezon did indicate in his book one of the events that may have led him away from the church.

Describing his part in the Philippine Revolution, Quezon told how he came down with a bad case of malaria while serving on General Mascardo's staff. The illness probably occurred in 1900, although the date is not definitely established. "I spent a month in the house of Cablesang Doro's friend in Navotas," wrote Quezon, undoubtedly referring to the town in Rizal province. "This old man had amassed so much money from the fishing business that he had been able to send his son to be educated in Europe. While convalescing at his house, I read books which left in my mind some doubt as to the certainty of the existence of hell as taught by my friar teachers—doubts which in after years contributed to my leaving for a long time the Catholic faith and joining the Masonic Order. I returned to the old church after my children had grown up."

The foregoing pithy reference doesn't throw much light on Quezon's religious experience, but it is all he chose to include in his autobiography.

I have been able to find no published record of Quezon's beliefs during the years when he was outside the church.

However, I once examined an unpublished autobiography of the late Teodoro M. Kalaw, who had a distinguished career in Philippine politics during the first half of the American regime. In the manuscript (Chapter X) was a letter from Quezon to Kalaw. As nearly as I could ascertain, it must have been written about 1915, when Quezon was representing the Philippines as resident commissioner in Washington. In the letter, writing in Spanish, Quezon said:

"You know that I am a free thinker. I do not believe matrimony is an indissoluble tie, as I do not see the necessity of any religion for any people and nation. Science should be, and has to be, the Religion of the future. This Religion will make the man of tomorrow more perfect, morally speaking, than the religious man of today, because the believer of our day is synonymous with the ignorant. To believe is 'to see what we have not seen'; in other words to have faith in whatever hoaxes some people, who consider themselves semi-divine, preach and practice. Nevertheless, even when such are my honest convictions regarding divorce and religion, I still consider it very inopportune to pass the Divorce Law now.

"Because of the trouble between (Archbishop of Manila). Harty and the YMCA, Harty has written to American Catholics attacking our Government. For the first time the Catholics here are (word indecipherable) if it is good for Catholicism to have the American government in the Philippines. It is very convenient for us to let them ponder over this, while at the same time we show them what good Catholics we are. The Catholic vote may yet give us our independence."

There seems to be an inconsistency in Quezon's referring to himself as a "free thinker," and then suggesting "we show them what good Catholics we are." One can only surmise that Quezon was speaking ironically in the latter instance. As a matter of fact, Quezon was wrong if he thought the Catholic vote in the United States would bring about independence. Only a few years after this letter to Kalaw was written, the same Archbishop Harty sent a cablegram to the

predominantly Catholic delegation in the New York delegation in the House of Representatives urging the delegates to vote against immediate independence.

If Quezon didn't write much about his experiences with the Catholic Church, he showed no reluctance in discussing them. On October 21, 1937, I made extensive notes of a press conference President Quezon had held the preceding Sunday in his study in Malacañang Palace. The conference lasted two hours. Originally called because the President wanted to discuss a forthcoming legislative message, the conference soon branched out into a discussion of nearly everything under the sun, including religion. Other correspondents present were Walter Robb of the *Chicago Daily News*, Ray Cronin of The Associated Press, Dick Wilson of the United Press, Dave Boguslav, then editor of the *Manila Tribune*, now *The Manila Times*. I was associate editor of the *Philippines Free Press*, and correspondent for the International News Service.

I had always been curious about Quezon's return to the church, and I kept the conversation on this subject as long as I could. The President was speaking "off the record," so his statements were not published at the time. His story went like this, according to the notes made at the time and still in my possession.

"I first considered re-entering the church for the sake of my children. My wife was a very devout Catholic, and as the children grew older I knew they would wonder why she was so religious when I was apparently lacking in religion. And I was afraid they might, believing me to be more intelligent than their mother, follow in my footsteps without giving the question of religion serious thought.

"So I asked Father Villallonga, former head of the Jesuit Order in the Philippines, if he would give me some instruction in the Catholic religion.

"Father Vilallonga, whom I had known for years, came out to see me and the first thing he wanted to do was say mass. I said to him, 'Never mind the mass. Tell me why I should re-enter the faith.'

"He talked to me for a while, and then he sent me a book, saying it would instruct me in the Catholic religion. Well, I read the book, and one of the portions in it told about a good-for-nothing Spaniard who sailed from Spain for the Philippines. Before he left his home his mother gave him a Medal, bearing the likeness of the Virgin of the Rosary, and once a day this fellow would say a 'Hail Mary' to the Medal. The rest of the time he was the worst possible sort of a rake, committing all the crimes imaginable.

"When the boat he was on passed Mariveles, a storm came up and the man was shipwrecked. By dint of great effort, he managed to swim ashore to Cavite but he was so exhausted by the time he reached there that he fell down on the beach and died.

"The next day the people in Manila noticed that the Virgin of the Rosary in the chapel of the Dominican Church had dust on it. And do you know what the conclusion of the story was? That the Virgin in Manila, made of wood, had walked all the way to Cavite to help this sinful man into Heaven, merely because he had said one 'Hail Mary' a day!

"When I read that story, and considered that the Catholic Church expected grown-up, intelligent men to believe it, I decided that I had better stay outside the church.

"So I did nothing until once, when I was returning to Manila from the United States, I found myself on board the same boat with Archbishop Michael J. O'Doherty. I was chatting with the Archbishop one day when he asked me why I did not return to the church, pointing out that my children were growing up and that I owed it to them, if for no other reason, to again become a practicing Catholic.

"I said to the Archbishop, 'I personally would like to return to the church. But I can't join an organization which expects me to believe that a wooden image walked all the way from Manila to Cavite to help a sinner get into Heaven.' Then I told him the entire story which I had read in the book.

"The Archbishop laughed and said, 'Well, I don't believe that story either, but I'm still a member of the church. It wasn't long before he convinced me that I could rejoin the church without insulting my own intelligence. As I recall it, he said a mass on that occasion.'"

I was anxious to find out Quezon's attitude toward Masonry. So I pressed him on this subject. His statement, also taken from my notes of October 21, 1937, follows:

"I didn't actually resign from the Masonic order until several months later, and I never denounced Masonry. There is a formal form which those returning to the church from the Masonic lodge are supposed to sign, but I refused to sign it. Instead, I wrote the Archbishop a personal note saying that I understood that I could not be readmitted to the Catholic Church so long as I remained a Mason and for that reason I was resigning from Masonry."

The "personal note" from Quezon to Archbishop O'Doherty is included in Sol Gwekoh's **Quezon, His Life and Career**. The original was in Spanish, says Gwekoh, and was witnessed by Mrs. Quezon. It was dated August 18, 1930, which is one day off from the 52nd birthday mentioned in **Times'** account. Since he was crossing the Pacific at the time, it is possible that Quezon was confused by the International Date Line.

In the document cited by Gwekoh, this statement is attributed to Quezon: "I abandon Masonry and I abandon it forever, not only because this is a condition *sine qua non* for a Catholic, but because the religious beliefs that I now sincerely profess, are in direct opposition to certain Masonic theories. I shall never again belong to any society condemned by the church. I deplore with all my heart having spent the best years of my life in complete forgetfulness of my God and outside His church."

Not long after the press conference at which President Quezon spoke so freely of his religious experiences, I asked him if he would authorize publication of the facts that led to his readmission to the church. I pointed out the doubts

that always arose regarding Rizal's religious beliefs, and suggested that Quezon prevent all speculation in his own case by writing an article for the 1937 Christmas issue of the **FREE PRESS**, repeating what he had told us at the press conference.

The President thought about my request, then turned it down. It is only now, 10 years after his death, that I feel free to publish this personal version of Manuel Quezon's religious beliefs. In his note to me, dated November 18, 1937, President Quezon said:

"I have been thinking over the question you submitted to me yesterday and I have come to the conclusion that it would not be proper for me at this time to write such an article. It is of no concern to the public what my religion is and why I belong to that church. The separation of church and state is a fundamental constitutional mandate and people may suspect some ulterior motive in my writing such article.

"Therefore I will not write the article you've suggested."

The important thing about President Quezon's letter, it seems to me, was his concern over the separation of church and state. The issue of religious education in the public schools was a live one. Only a veto by President Quezon prevented the enactment of a law that would have permitted religious education in the schools during regular time.

Despite the President's veto, the bishops of Cebu announced their intention to continue the fight for religious education in the public schools. President Quezon then made a blistering statement ending all speculation as to where he stood on the question of separation of church and state.

"It should be unnecessary to remind the ecclesiastical authorities in the Philippines," said Quezon, "that the separation of Church and State in this country is a reality and not a mere theory, and that as far as our people are concerned, it is forever settled that this separation will be maintained as one of the cardinal tenets of our government. They should realize, therefore, that any attempts on their part to interfere with matters that are within the province of government

will not be tolerated. If the said ecclesiastical authorities desire to have the government respect their rights and afford them every kind of protection in the free exercise of their religion, they must not only abide by the laws and lawful orders of the government, but they must also acknowledge and respect the principle of the separation of church and state."

If President Quezon's message to the bishops was the highlight of his intensely religious period, his letter to Teodoro Kalaw was a similar highlight of his years as a free-thinker. When he was almost literally at war with the church, he advised Kalaw against any breakdown in the sanctity of marriage. And when he had again become a practicing Catholic, he warned a congregation of bishops to keep their hands off political affairs. Both events illustrate the essential balance that is a requisite of true statesmanship.

QUEZON AND THE COMMONWEALTH *

By Celedonio O. Resurreccion

NOVEMBER 15 IS almost a forgotten date. Yet it is as important a date as Independence Day of the Philippines. Twenty-seven years ago the foundation of the Republic was laid with the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. On the silver anniversary of that solemn and historic event nothing was done by the Government to commemorate it.

The Commonwealth was more than a mere transition that would serve as an economic bridge between the colonial era and that of statehood. It was to be a supreme test of the capacity and political maturity of the Filipino people for self-government.

That the Filipinos were ready for autonomy was their claim upon the passage of the Jones Law on August 29, 1916, which in part declares that "it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein."

In fact, the independence movement under the American regime had its inception even before the formal cession of the Philippines by Spain to the United States under the terms of the Treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898. It gained impetus notwithstanding the prohibition by Governor William Howard Taft against the formation of political parties with independence as part of its basic platform. It continued to grow in spite of the enactment of the Sedition Law of November 4, 1901, which made it "unlawful for any person to advocate independence, or separation from the United States whether by peaceful or other means, or to officially publish

* Reprinted from the Historical Bulletin, 1962, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 160-265.

pamphlets advocating such independence or separation." To add extra-legal teeth to the Sedition Law, at least in spirit, appointments to important choice positions in the government were made in favor of members of the **Partido Federal**, then the only party allowed to exist because of its patent pro-American platform and policies.

The Commonwealth of the Philippines saw the light of day not without labor pains. The crisis in Philippine politics began when the Ninth Independence Mission, composed of Senate president pro tempore Sergio Osmeña and Speaker Manuel Roxas, sailed for Washington in 1931 to press for the enactment of a bill providing for Philippine independence. After two years of painstaking labor, the United States Congress passed the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill, as amended, and, later, overrode the veto of President Hoover. Credit for the passage of the independence law was naturally given to the OSROX Mission.

In the meantime, in Manila the third member of the Ninth Independence Mission, Manuel L. Quezon, who elected to remain in the home front, registered eloquently his opposition to the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill in a speech delivered on March 11, 1933 at the Philippine Columbian Clubhouse. Thereafter, the electorate was divided into the "Pros", which sided with the OSROX Mission, and the "Antis" which sided with Quezon.

Quezon himself headed another mission to the United States and brought back the Tydings-McDuffie Law, which was very much similar to the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law. The Philippine Legislature unanimously accepted the new law, with both the Pros and the Antis claiming credit for it.

Like the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, the Tydings-McDuffie Law was enacted "to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes." Among its salient features were: (1) a provision authorizing the election of delegates to a constitutional convention; (2) mandatory provisions in regard to the democratic character of the constitution; (3) a provision requiring the submission

of the constitution of the President of the United States for his approval if it conformed with the provisions of the Tydings-McDuffie Act; (4) a provision requiring the submission, after approval by the United States President to the Filipino people for ratification or rejection, as the case may be; (5) relations with the United States pending complete independence; (6) recognition of the Philippine independence and withdrawal of American sovereignty; and (7) neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

Events moved fast thereafter. On May 27, 1934, the Philippine Legislature authorized "the holding of elections of delegates to the Constitutional Convention." The election was held on July 10 of the same year, in accordance with Proclamation No. 634. Adopted by the Convention on February 8, 1935, the Constitution was ratified by the people on May 14, 1935.

The first national election took place on September 17, 1935, with three candidates worthy of mention—Manuel L. Quezon, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, and Monsignor Gregorio Aglipay. Their respective speeches of acceptance of their nomination provide interesting study of their policies if and when elected to the highest post under the Commonwealth.

Saying that he looked upon the Constitution of the Philippines as the expression of the sovereignty and of the aggregate will of the people, Quezon declared that he would abide by its provisions, uphold democratic principles underlying the Constitution, oppose dictatorship, defend rights and liberties, and insure for every citizen the right to worship God.

Quezon favored a simple and economical government, that is, "one in keeping with the limited resources of our country but which is capable of ministering to the needs of the nation."

The Picos della Mirandola of our time would be holding a lighted candle before President Quezon in vain. He announced his norm of conduct in public office, thus:

I shall be unsparing in my efforts to carry out the mandate of the Constitution regarding the civil service. Merit and character alone will be the qualification for office or promotion. For the highest posts I shall call on the most capable, honest and patriotic citizens, regardless of political affiliation or religious belief. This is not time for placing party considerations above the common weal. In fact, one of the main purposes of the coalition is to secure the cooperation and help of the best available men to insure the success of the Commonwealth. I shall tolerate neither corruption nor inefficiency in public office.

Quezon's views of the social problems of the time was one of fine perception, deep understanding, and constructive paternalism. "Let us beware of men," he warned, "who deliberately, for political or selfish aims, stir up discontent among the masses. They preach subversive doctrines, speak of evils and abuses that do not exist, or magnify those which often are inevitable in democracies. These men are the worse enemies of society, more dangerous to the community than ordinary criminals. They have no sympathy for the people, but are mere self-seekers, intent only in securing either pecuniary or political advantage for themselves. . . . He who tries to curry favor with the masses by appealing to the passions of the people, stirring up their prejudices, or capitalizing discontent or human suffering, is unworthy of public trust."

In the battle of the minds, in the battle of ideologies, Quezon assumed an intransigent position. "I am against communism. I am a firm believer in the institution of private property. I contend, however, that whenever property rights come in conflict with human rights, the former should yield to the latter." Here Quezon was a clairvoyant. He saw, by a decade earlier, the deathless spirit that was to promulgate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations.

General Aguinaldo in his acceptance speech mentioned forty-four principles to guide his conduct should the people give him their confidence. "I declare," he said, "that I shall use all the energies of which I have enumerated, if the electorate places its confidence in me, with the cooperation of all

compatriots of good will, and with the aid of Divine Providence."

Bishop Gregorio Aglipay was backed up by the newly formed "Partido Republicano," which had among its purposes the extension of help and assistance to the poor, the unemployed, the laborers, and the establishment of a good government in general, as well as the preservation of equality and fraternity among the masses.

Quezon and Osmeña kissed up with the coalition of the Pros and the Antis in 1935, shortly before the election. They teamed up against the Aguinaldo-Melliza and the Aglipay-Nabong combinations. The election established in no uncertain terms the strength of the Quezon-Osmeña team which garnered not merely a plurality but a majority of the votes of the Filipino electorate, as shown by the following tabulation:

FOR PRESIDENT		FOR VICE PRESIDENT	
Quezon	694,104	Osmeña	817,446
Aguinaldo	179,390	Melliza	70,906
Aglipay	147,951	Nabong	51,373
Racuyal	158		

On October 12, 1935, the Philippine Senate and the House of Representatives, in joint session, passed a resolution "certifying to the Governor-General the result of the election for President and Vice President of the Philippines. This was the last requirement before the inauguration of the Commonwealth.

It was a beautiful morning. The sun rose with all resplendence as if to rival the splendor of the occasion. The morning breeze, cool and playful that particular November morning, contributed to the general high spirits. Everybody was in patriotic mood, aflame with a sense of triumph and fulfillment. From the gate of the Legislative Building a loud-speaker was pouring out Philippine music, including violin selections from the incomparable Filipino virtuoso, Ernesto Vallejo.

At 7:45 a.m. a bugle call announced the processional march of officials and distinguished guests to the improvised grandstand on the steps at the main entrance of the Legislative Building. Then the colors were borne to the rostrum. All was quiet and still now. The program had begun.

His Grace the Archbishop of Cebu, the Most Reverend Gabriel M. Reyes, D.D., was going to say the Invocation. "To the King of ages, immortal, invisible, the only God, be honor and glory for ever and ever, Amen." There was earnestness in his exultant voice, clear as clarion. "We thank Thee for this day so longed for by the Filipino people. . . We pray Thee, O God of Wisdom and Justice, from whom all authority comes, to assist with Thy light and power the authorities who have been elected by the will of their brethren. . ."

Frank Murphy, last Governor-General and first American High-Commissioner, introduced George H. Dern, Secretary of War of the United States, who delivered an address, after which High Commissioner Murphy read the proclamation of President Roosevelt, announcing the results of the national election.

Secretary Dern stood up to make an announcement. ". . . I do hereby announce," his voice was firm and pregnant, "that the heretofore existing Government of the Philippines is now terminated, and that the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines in entering upon its rights, privileges, powers, and duties. . . is the successor to the heretofore existing Philippine Government and to all the rights and obligations thereof."

It was President Quezon's happiest moments. To him who led his party through thick and thin, first, in the politics of survival and, later, in the politics of independence, it was a glorious moment of fulfillment.

In his inaugural address, His Excellency Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Commonwealth, spoke with humility before the people to whom he acknowledged his exalted position. "In the exercise of your constitutional prerogative you have elected me to the presidency of the Commonwealth," he

began. "I am profoundly grateful for this new expression of your confidence, and God helping me I shall not fail you."

President Quezon was realistic and far-seeing. "Under the Commonwealth, our life may not be one of ease and comfort, but rather of hardship and sacrifice," he warned. "We shall build a government that will be just, honest, efficient and strong so that the foundations of the coming Republic may be firm and enduring—a government, indeed, that must satisfy not only the passing needs of the hour but also the exacting demands of the future."

He concluded with an appeal, mingled with fortitude and hope, and prayer. "I appeal to your patriotism and summon your nobility of heart so that we may, united in the common endeavor, once more dedicate ourselves to the realization of our national destiny. I face the future with hope and fortitude, certain that God never abandons a people who ever follow His unerring and guiding Hand. May He give me light, strength, and courage evermore that I may not falter in the hour of service to my people!"

Those were words of wisdom. Quezon knew his personal limitations and made public avowal of them. He knew the great power of the Supreme Ruler Who guides the destiny of men and of nations and he implored for it. Yet he asked for "light, strength, and courage" not for self-aggrandizement, not for egocentric ends, but rather so that he "may not falter in the hour of service to my people." It is a selfless utterance in a selfless moment.

Indeed, the birth of the Commonwealth provides an enduring monument to the Father of his Country, a constant reminder to the present and future generations of Filipinos of the high ideals and noble vision which the Commonwealth nurtured for them.

QUEZON AND HIS HEALTH*

By Artemio A. Garlit

THE LATE President Manuel L. Quezon, who once conquered tuberculosis, was in turn conquered by the same dread foe. His struggle with the disease was uneven but it stretched over a period of more than 20 years before he succumbed. Had they fought on even terms, he might still have won. Indeed, it seemed that only in this fashion could this remarkable man be laid by the heels. During his long and colorful political career, he never knew defeat. For well-nigh 25 years he had drawn the national chain of events and affairs with strong competent hands; had enjoyed the people's confidence and the power that went along with it. Suddenly, the chain snapped. Death had at last intervened and stilled forever the heartbeats of this beloved leader of his people.

But his extraordinary career did not end with his demise. It continued blooming to maturation until its appointed time. The grant of Philippine independence finally completed the cycle.

Dying in an hour of triumph in the greatest battle of his life, Quezon carried with him to the grave the knowledge that the total defeat of the enemy in the greatest of all wars was not only sure but also calculably imminent. On the morning of August 1, 1944, several hours before he breathed his last, he had heard over the radio that the allies had just made a successful landing on Noenfoor which, until then, was the nearest landing to the Philippines. He was then at Lake Saranac sanatorium, New York, where he had been under treatment for sometime. Greatly elated by the news, it occurred to him that very soon the Commonwealth of the Philippines-in-exile would be reestablished on Philippine soil. Whereupon he immediately gave instructions for the then Brigadier-General Carlos P. Romulo to prepare a public state-

* Reprinted from the *Administration Magazine*, August 1948, pp. 19-23.

ment in his (Quezon's) name. "Now I know we are on our way back!" were the words he was reported to have wished issued in the statement. Accordingly, in his office in Washington, Romulo began writing the President's message.

But, later that day, Quezon's condition worsened. News of the landing had overly excited him and hastened the inevitable. Death has sometimes a definitive way of communicating its proximity and the terrible intimation of its nearness must have impressed itself upon him for soon he asked his personal physician to read to him from the Beatitudes. All of a sudden, as he lay back on his pillows, blood gushed from his mouth. He was dead. Two months later, on October 20, the liberation forces landed on Leyte.

Quezon's fight against the white plague was no less dramatic than his political battles. As early as October of 1921 he already showed the first symptoms of the disease, according to Dr. Antonio G. Sison, director of the Philippine General Hospital and dean of the State University's College of Medicine. The then senate head was aboard the s.s. **Empress of Russia** on his way back to the Philippines from the United States. One day, as the ship approached Yokohama, he played back tennis and caught cold. Fever developed which lasted for more than a week. Having received advance information that he was on the steamer, Dr. Sison, then in Shanghai, paid a courtesy call and found Quezon sick with fever. The physician had to attend to the ailing leader in whom he detected, after a careful diagnosis, the initial symptoms of lung trouble. Advising Quezon to be very careful, he frankly disclosed what he found.

However, it was not until about the middle of 1927 that Quezon visibly declining in health, was found to be definitely suffering from tuberculosis. This, according to Dr. Miguel Cañizares, director of the Quezon Institute and a world renowned TB specialist, who played an important role in the late leader's fight against the ailment.

Strenuous activity had worn down Quezon's health. As the senate president and acknowledged leader of his people

he had to put up with innumerable claims on his attention, time and effort. At the same time, the fights into which he pitched himself with a peculiar zest increased as he grew in fame and stature. Indeed, paradoxically enough, the very elements that partly made up the essence of the man—his restless energy, his nervous, explosive temperament, his impetus nature and his passionate love of life—elements that helped to make him great, also conspired to undermine his physical well-being. He would not rest; he thrived on vigorous movement, on fights; a Daemon seemed to possess him. And so his health went from bad to worse.

On October 1, 1927, he sailed for the United States where he submitted himself to a general health check-up in the Fisk Life Extension Institute, New York, upon the suggestion of Ex-President William Howard Taft who was then chief justice of the U.S. supreme court. Thereupon he was referred to a Dr. Miller of New York who advised him to take his rest and treatment in the Pottenger sanatorium at Monrovia, California. So he went to the sanatorium recommended where Doctors Pottenger, Cañizares and Trias were his attending physicians. When he realized the seriousness of his illness, he cabled his resignation to the then Senator Osmeña but the latter turned it down which resulted in his re-election as senate president in absentia. Needless to say, he improved in health, what with highly capable physicians attending him, the beautiful scenery and the invigorating air of sunny California.

The following year, however, he suffered a relapse, his tuberculosis returning with greater virulence. On the advice of his physicians, he again booked passage for the United States. Incidentally, I was at Pier 7 where thousands of people converged to see him off on the day he sailed. I was on board the liner he took when I saw him carried up the gang-plank on a chair. He was very weak, thin and haggard. But for his eyes which still gleamed imperiously like an eagle's beneath beetling eyebrows, one would have thought that he indeed was dying.

I saw Mrs. Quezon with tears in her eyes as she bade her friends and relatives goodbye. I more than half suspected that she must have been thinking that that was the last time the Filipino people would be seeing her husband alive. Snatches of the conversation I heard on board the ship that day, behind Quezon's back, were to the effect that his days were already numbered. When the ship sailed, he stood up despite his weakness, supporting himself on the railing, and waved his hat to the people who rent the air with shouts of "Mabuhay". Upon reaching his destination, he sought rest and treatment in the Hayes Clinic near Monrovia where he recovered.

What perhaps contributed much to his improvement was his will to live. Here again, as in every instance where he waged a seemingly hopeless fight, his indomitable spirit carried him over to victory. When he left the clinic, he was brimming with health and looking for another fight.

Tuberculosis was not the only ailment from which Quezon suffered. He also contracted malaria, dysentery, renal calculi ("stone"), and appendicitis. His first critical illness was malaria for which he was "doctored" to within an ace of his life, sometime in 1900 during the insurrection of the Filipinos against the Americans. He was then a colonel commanding a force of *insurrectos* from Balanga to Mariveles under General Mascardo. One morning he woke up with a high fever and, accordingly, sent for a close friend who was in the town of Pilar. Informed of Quezon's plight and the purpose for which he had been called, he came with a man whom he, out of respect, perhaps, or through ignorance, called a doctor. The "doctor" had been, in fact, a sort of nurse in the San Juan de Dios Hospital and, when he settled in Pilar, became the town physician. The medicine man brought with him some pills which he gave the patient to take, not in little doses but all at once. Before long Quezon felt that he was about to cross the Great Divide. Alarmed, the attending men fetched the parish priest who, upon arriving, administered the last sacraments and, before leaving, gave Quezon a five-dollar coin.

Quezon survived the ordeal and, years later, it occurred to him that the "doctor" had given him an overdose of aspirin. When he became strong enough, he was moved to a house in Navotas where he rested for a month. The man who accompanied him on the journey to Navotas—his orderly who hailed from Bohol—attended to his needs with devoted solicitude and helped much in his recovery. Quezon regretted his inability to repay this man because when he was in a position to do so, the man had already died.

Meanwhile, owing to the return of his malaria, Quezon was ordered by General Mascardo to surrender to the Americans, which he did in April of 1901. He came back to Manila, staying in the house of Dr. Alejandro Albert, former undersecretary of instruction. Before long, however, he was taken prisoner by the Americans and confined, first in a big house where he stayed for two months and, later, in a room inside Intramuros walls where he was locked up for four months. Upon his release, which he suspected to be merely a trick laid for him by the Americans, he disappeared for a while to make sure that they were not really after him any more. Having assured himself that he was already free from further molestation, he returned to the residence of Dr. Albert who gave him accommodation.

The harrowing experience proved too much for the malaria-stricken man who shortly afterwards came down with a nervous breakdown. With the assistance of the Dominican friars, he was brought to the San Juan de Dios Hospital where he stayed for several months. Later, when he was still convalescing, he transferred to Dr. Gregorio Singian's home, at the latter's instance, where he continued his treatment until completely recovered.

Sometime in 1931, when he was in Baguio, he was affected by dysentery. During his confinement, an incident occurred over which the whole nation chuckled when it was known later. It happened that Father Serapio Tamayo of the University of Sto. Tomas, who had been one of his teachers during his student days and who was now one of his closest friends, was vacationing at the time in the Pines City.

One day, Father Tamayo went to see Quezon and announced himself. So the nurse told the senate leader that "the priest is here." Thinking that she was referring to the press since she had been pronouncing the word "press" with a long e, as is the custom of the people up north, he immediately flared up and shouted: "Tell the press to go to hell!"

Now Father Tamayo was just within hearing distance and, catching the remark, promptly left the place in high dudgeon. Reaching his quarters, he informed Quezon by phone of what had happened. The latter quickly apologized and gave his own explanation.

In 1934, he sailed once more for the United States, this time to have himself operated on for renal calculi, commonly known as "stone". On this trip he was accompanied by Dr. Januario Estrada of the Philippine General Hospital. He went to the John Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland, where he was operated upon by a Dr. Young, a famous urologist.

Hardly three years had passed since he left John Hopkins Hospital when he again went under the knife for still another ailment—appendicitis. In November, 1937, he went to the Philippine General Hospital and was operated on by Doctors Estrada and Antonio Vasquez. Doctors Sison and Cañizares were the other two attending physicians during his confinement. He was already President of the Commonwealth.

In December of 1940, his lung ailment, which had been quiescent for sometime, became active again. The final struggle against his formidable adversary had now begun. It was the last dividend he was to receive in terms of impaired health for the rigorous life he had been leading. Upon the advice of his physicians, he tried to find as much rest as he could manage and, for this purpose, he occupied a house on Gilmore Street, Quezon City. Doctors Sison and Cañizares, who had been indefatigable in their effort to preserve his health, again became his attending physicians.

Meanwhile, world conditions became worse. The strained relations between the United States and Japan assumed a more serious aspect. Suddenly, on December 7, 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor without warning. Quezon's worries now started in earnest. Japan moved swiftly and, the following day, bombs started falling on Philippine soil. During the first week of the war, in spite of nightly fever and weakness, he visited the Philippine General Hospital when informed that many civilians had been injured in the air raid on Camp Nichols. Almost every day he held meetings with the Council of State until his departure for Corregidor.

He also called a special session of the National Assembly which met and subsequently passed two measures. One was a resolution which reaffirmed the abiding faith of the Filipino people in, and their loyalty to the United States, and the other was a law granting the President all the powers that may be delegated to him in time of war under the Constitution. After every air raid on Manila he visited different sections of the city to see the extent of the damage and casualty and to boost the morale of the people.

When it became evident that the Japanese forces would soon be in Manila, Quezon left for Corregidor, on the night of December 24, taking with him ex-President Sergio Osmeña, then vice-president, Chief Justice Jose Abad Santos who was later killed by the Japanese, Major General Basilio J. Valdes, Colonel Manuel Nieto and his private secretary, Serapio D. Canceran. He also took along Dr. Andreas Trepp, a lung specialist. At 12 o'clock that night, which was Christmas Eve, he heard mass with his family and party with an improvised altar inside the tunnel.

All through that night and the night following, the President coughed. Humidity and lack of fresh air aggravated his already battered health. On December 27 he sent Colonel Nieto to Manila to get all the medicine he needed.

At one time during his first few weeks on the embattled "Rock", because of his physical condition and the fear that his people might miss him badly, he entertained some doubt

as to the usefulness of his presence in Corregidor and thought of returning to Manila to offer himself as a prisoner of war to the Japanese. It also came to his mind that such course of action would be to the best interest of both the Americans and Filipinos. He told this to General MacArthur, but the latter answered that, on the contrary, it would only serve the purpose of the Japanese to weaken Filipino resistance.

Studying the matter at greater length, he came to the conclusion that the island fortress was not the place for him and so, on February 21, upon the advice of General MacArthur and his physicians, Dr. Trepp and General Valdes, he boarded a submarine for the Visayas. From here he proceeded to Mindanao by means of a P-T boat and from Mindanao he flew to Australia. Finally, on April 20, he sailed for the United States, reaching San Francisco on May 8. From San Francisco a special train sent by President Roosevelt took him to Washington where President Roosevelt himself, flanked by American cabinet members and all the living Governors-General and High Commissioners of the Philippines, welcomed him with open arms.

Once within the comparative safety of the United States, he promptly established the exiled Commonwealth government of his country and continued working for his people and the allied cause with the same vigor and statesmanship which had always characterized his actuations. Finally, he entered the Saranac Lake Sanatorium where he was attended to by Dr. Edward Hays until he died.

It seems quite curious that Quezon's first and last serious illnesses had something to do with the change of his religious beliefs. The first change occurred when he was convalescing from malaria during his days as an *insurrecto*. He was then staying in a certain rich old man's house where he happened to read some books which made him doubt the existence of hell as expounded by Catholic priests. Because of this doubt he later deserted the Catholic fold.

The second change took place when he was confined in the Pottenger Sanatorium for tuberculosis. Being still in

grave condition at the time, he thought that he was going to die "like an animal without spiritual consolation or hope." So when he left the sanatorium he devoted himself to the study of Catholicism, this principally at the bidding of his wife who had set her heart on his reconversion of his childhood faith, and finally, after several years, he renounced his masonic affiliation and returned to the Catholic fold.

In his great concern for the common tao, Quezon projected his personal case into a national problem. He enlarged his battle against his ailments into a nationwide campaign against all diseases. During his public career, specially when he was President of the Commonwealth Government, he established more hospitals throughout the Philippines, improved and expanded old ones such as the Santol Sanatorium, which later became the Quezon Institute, and the Philippine General Hospital.

During the observance of his 58th birthday anniversary in 1936, he signed an executive order fixing the minimum wage of government laborers with an increase of 20 per cent, which was followed by private concerns later.

In a radio speech that day he said: "More important, however, than curing tuberculosis is preventing it. I am told that there was an old Chinese custom wherein a Chinese family paid a handsome salary to its physician while there was no sickness in the family, but reduced the pay as soon as somebody was taken ill. Whether or not the Chinese knew at the time they were indulging in the science of preventive medicine, the fact is that they seemed to have had the proper slant of the prevention of disease. I mention this because it is my conviction that while there should not be any let-up in our present campaign against tuberculosis, and should give the Philippine Anti-Tuberculosis Society our unstinted support, the time has come for us to take preventive measures, for to eradicate tuberculosis from the Philippines we must eliminate the causes that have made the white plague the one disease that claims more victims every year than any other disease known to us in the Philippines. . . The most common cause of tuberculosis is malnutrition. Our people are under-

fed and, lacking the physical strength, they are an easy prey to tuberculosis. They are underfed because they are underpaid. . . . That night he proposed as the keynote of his birthday anniversary celebration an appeal to the nation that better wages be paid to laborers be they on farms or factories.

QUEZON AND HIS FIGHTS *

By Rodrigo C. Lim

THE CURRENT power struggle among the country's top political leaders, particularly that between President Garcia and NP and Senate President "Amang" Rodriguez, reminds us of the fights the late President Quezon had in his over 30 years of public life.

In one respect Quezon's political career was unique, singular. It could be perhaps duplicated but surely not surpassed by that of any other Filipino leader, or any leader in any other country for that matter. For not once in his incessant political strifes did he suffer a single defeat—and in many of them he was pitted against the most formidable opponents of his time.

Foremost of these battles was his historic fight for political supremacy in the early 20s against then Speaker Osmeña on the issue of collective versus unipersonal leadership. For over 15 years the two leaders had been disinterestedly and unselfishly collaborating in the common effort of nation building, forming a political partnership without parallel anywhere else then or today. Times there were when, because of conflict of opinion on vital national questions and of diametrically opposed characters and temperaments, a clash appeared imminent and inevitable. Each time, however, one or the other sacrificed personal pride and ambition for the good of the country, particularly the cause for which both had fought in war and in peace—Philippine independence.

But even the sweetest of honeymoons cannot last forever and in due time, the Quezon-Osmeña combine ended as any such political alliance is bound to end somehow, sometime. The formal parting of the ways came in the evening of February 17, 1922 when, before a mammoth crowd that over-

* Reprinted from the *Philippine Free Press*, August 20, 1960, pp. 34, 36, 52.

flowed the pre-war Manila Grand Opera House, Quezon declared war against his life-long friend and partner.

"When one is convinced that the conduct of a party is no longer in consonance with the will of the people and does not respect the demands of public opinion," he told the teeming thousands that jammed that huge theater, "then no member is under any obligation to remain in that party." It was then that he pronounced his classic now oft-quoted dogma: "My loyalty to my party ends where my loyalty to my country begins."

Talking of the conflict, which some wiseacres of the time called a fight between autocracy as represented by Osmeña and democracy as typified by Quezon, the late Teodoro M. Kalaw, then secretary of the interior and one of the greatest minds the Philippines has ever produced, said:

"The split came as a result of the disagreement over the leadership question. Our faction stood for the so-called unipersonal leadership, which involves centralization and unity of responsibility, and the other for the so-called collective leadership which puts responsibility in each department of the government. In other words the unipersonalists supported the introduction of the parliamentary form of government in the Philippines and the collectivists the presidential form."

While a good many people sincerely believed that Quezon only wanted to establish "a government by the people by means of a voluntary expression of the sovereign will of the people" and "not the people's rule without the expression of the popular will," there were others who accused him of provoking the split to take control of the party and perpetuate himself in power.

To those critics he retorted:

"Can I find a position in the Philippine government and in the gift of the Filipino people higher than that of president of the Senate, the highest position to which a Filipino could be sent by his countrymen? If I wanted to perpetuate my-

self in power, is there anything better for me than to remain in the Nacionalista Party?"

From the thunderous ovation that greeted his memorable pronouncements that evening at the Opera House, could be foreseen the outcome of the first clash between the two Filipino titans. In the subsequent election, in June, 1922, during which both were in the United States as joint chiefs of an independence mission, Quezon's **Collectivistas** won with such a convincing majority that he thereafter became the acknowledged leader of Filipino participation in the government.

The Quezon-Osmeña divorce did not last long however. Quezon did not have a sufficient majority in the Lower House to elect the speaker of his choice, the then rising political star from Capiz, Manuel Roxas, and as between his former partner and the Democratic, he chose to coalesce with the former. Neither did the Cebuano leader want any coalition with the oppositionists. Thus was formed the Nacionalista Consolidado Party with Quezon as head.

No sooner had Quezon and Osmeña kissed and made up when MLQ had to face a greater fight with no less than the representative of American sovereignty in this country—Governor-General Wood.

Open Break

An arch-enemy of Philippine independence, Wood was set on undoing all that his predecessor, Francis Burton Harrison, had done to give the Filipinos ample powers and responsibilities in preparation for self-government. Among other things, he turned his cabinet secretaries into glorified office clerks, solely responsible to him and under his absolute control, although their appointments were subjects to the control and approval of the Philippine legislature. To advise him in matters that were purely the concern of the Filipinos, he instead formed what then Editor Carlos P. Romulo called the "Kitchen Cabinet," or "Cavalry Cabinet" as others dubbed it, composed of U.S. Army officers including his playboy son, Lt. Osborne C. Wood.

Quezon was not one to take such affront to Filipino dignity lying down. The open break was precipitated by Governor Wood's reinstatement of an American police detective who had been suspended by the city mayor with the approval of the secretary of interior. Quezon considered this act a clear violation of the fundamental law of the land and "a backward step and a curtailment of Filipino autonomy guaranteed by the organic act and enjoyed by the Filipino people continuously since the operation of the Jones Law." Shortly before midnight of July 17, 1923, the department secretaries led by Quezon and Speaker Roxas marched to Malacañang and presented their resignations from the cabinet and the council of state.

Wood accepted the resignations which he considered "a challenge and a threat which I cannot ignore." He likewise accepted the resignation of City Mayor Ramon J. Fernandez which was simultaneously presented with those of the cabinet men.

Quezon had so presented the issue that the people readily rallied around him. Only dissenters who saw in the crisis a chance to assume the powers formerly enjoyed by Quezon and company, were the Democrats led by Judge Juan Sumulong who branded the resignations as "fictitious, artificial, ridiculous and frivolous." The case was later submitted to the people when a special election was held in the fourth senatorial district to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Senator Pedro Guevara who was chosen Resident Commissioner to Washington.

Battle Royal

Never had the people witnessed such a battle royal in which all available instruments of political warfare were utilized. Quezon went to the people in behalf of his man, ex-Mayor Fernandez, with no other issue but "A vote for Fernandez is a vote for the people; a vote for Sumulong is a vote for Wood." The result was an overwhelming majority for Fernandez and once again, Quezon scored one of the biggest victories in his political career.

A consequence of his rift with Wood which ended with the latter's death on August 7, 1927, was Quezon's equally acrimonious controversy with his former revolutionary chief, General Aguinaldo, whom he had served as an aide with the rank of major. Aguinaldo did not only express support for Wood but tried to strengthen the latter's position here and in America by expelling Quezon from his Veterans of the Revolution Association. The bomb that was expected to discredit the Filipino leader in the eyes of both Filipinos and Americans proved a dud however. It turned out that Quezon had never been a member of the association and he could not therefore be expelled therefrom.

"While I am a veteran I have never affiliated with the association," Quezon pointed out, "and from the time General Aguinaldo, for purely personal motives, came out in support of General Wood I have considered any association with it not only an inconsistency but a betrayal of public trust on my part."

Offshoot of that controversy which lasted for quite a time was the withdrawal by the legislature of Aguinaldo's P12,000 annual pension.

Second Break

Last but not least of Quezon's major political battles was his second break with Osmeña on the question of the H-H-C (Hare-Hawes-Cutting) Law. As everyone familiar with Philippine history knows, that law which provided for independence after a transition period of ten years, was passed by the U.S. Congress through the efforts of the so-called OSROX mission headed by Senator Osmeña and Speaker Roxas. Quezon objected however to the economic provisions of the law and caused the legislature to reject it.

With the OSROX group, aside from Osmeña and Roxas, were such political stalwarts as Rep. Benigno Aquino, Sen. Jose O. Vera, Commissioner Osias and U.P. President Palma. On Quezon's side were his right-hand man Senator Jose Ma. Clarin, Senator Elpidio Quirino and Reps. Quintin Paredes and Jose Zulueta. A tribute to Quezon's political sagacity,

he won to his side such former enemies as Aguinaldo, Sumulong, Recto and other lesser oppositionists.

The bitter fight had its first repercussions in the legislature when Osmeña men or "Pros" were eliminated from key positions. Foremost of those "decapitated" was Speaker Roxas who was replaced by Rep. Paredes. The senate re-elected Quezon as president; Clarin, president-pro tempore, and Quirino, floor leader. There was then no question that Quezon and his "Antis" were masters of the situation.

Quezon's stock rose to greater heights when, despite dark predictions of failure voiced by the "Pros," he went to America and came back with another law—the Tydings-McDuffie Act—which was admittedly a much better law in so far as the Filipinos were concerned. Without a dissenting vote the legislature later accepted the law which became the foundation of the present Republic.

Eloquent Evidence

Once more, the people gave eloquent evidence of their confidence in Quezon when, in the election held barely a month after the acceptance of the T-M law, his men swept to victory throughout the country.

The foregoing are but a few of the fights that made Quezon's political career colorful and dramatic. As has been already said, in not one of them did he ever taste the bitter pill of defeat. This, many of those who knew him attributed to his great and winning personality, his deep insight into human nature and his fighting spirit. To this the writer would add: if Quezon never lost a fight, it was because before he plunged into a battle he made sure of his backing, political or otherwise. I still remember that on the eve of his declaration of war against Osmeña and Roxas on the H-H-C law, he gathered at his home in Pasay the biggest men in business, finance and industry to ask for their support.

"Somos or no somos?" he asked them, and when everyone chorused "Somos," he fired the following day the first salvo against the OSROX.

MLQ'S LIFE RETRACED *

By Camilo Osias

BIDDEN by the invitation of the Kiwanis Club of Quezon City to take part in the luncheon program to celebrate the birthday of Manuel L. Quezon, I am glad to take part because I consider it a civic duty and an evidence of sound nationalism to recall the anniversaries of Filipinos who have won public recognition as architects of the nation.

There is no question that Quezon deserves to be honored as among the vanguards in the building of this new nation. Nationals and foreigners alike have borne witness to the fact that our record of emancipatory struggle in this country and the valiant fights of this patriot and leader are intimately intertwined.

I accepted the suggestion of the president of this club to speak of Manuel L. Quezon, as an architect of this new nation having intimately labored with him.

Quezon's entire career, distinctive for having been a fighter for great causes, was dedicated toward the achievement for our people of a free, prosperous, and sovereign nationhood. In a message to the Filipino people which may be considered as part of his last will and testament, he said:

"Your country is a great country. It has a great past, and a great future." This is indeed a continuing challenge to his fellow-citizens and it is worthwhile to inspire ourselves in the valuable legacy which he bequeathed to this and future generations.

The full text of his injunction should be broadcast far and wide and I hereby reproduce it.

* Address delivered before the Kiwanis Club in Quezon City on August 20, 1966. Reprinted from the Manila Times, August 22, 1966, pp. 3-C.

A MESSAGE TO THE FILIPINO PEOPLE

"My fellow-citizens, there is one thought I want you always to have in mind, and that is that you are Filipinos, that the Philippines is your country and the only country God has given you. That you must keep it for yourselves, for your children, and for your children's children, until the world is no more. You must live for it and die for it if necessary.

"Your country is a great country. It has a great Past and a great future.

"The Philippines of yesterday is consecrated by the sacrifices of lives and pleasures of your patriots, martyrs, and soldiers.

"The Philippines of today is honored by the whole-hearted devotion to its cause of unselfish and courageous statesmen.

"The Philippines of tomorrow will be the country of plenty, of happiness, and of freedom. The Philippines with her head raised in the midst of the West Pacific, Mistress of her own destiny, holding in her hand the torch of Freedom and Democracy, a republic of virtuous and righteous men and women, all working together for a better world than the one we have at present."

From his boyhood through his manhood and to his last breath, he was a fighter endowed with a vision splendid and with rare moral courage.

Of the galaxy of Filipino leaders whom I have been privileged to know in my long span of life, Manuel L. Quezon stands out pre-eminent. It is significant that the last book emanating from his pen bears the significant title *The Good Fight*.

As a student in Manila, he participated in many fist fights and intellectual contests. He fought an officer of the hated *Guardia Civil* in his hometown of Baler. At one time while vacationing there, he became hated by the parish priest whose hand he did not want to kiss as was the general custom in those days.

He brought joy to the hearts of his loving parents when he showed in Manila that he could be self-supporting while pursuing his studies. Completing his law studies from the

University of Santo Tomas and soon after passing the bar, he became an employee in a law firm at a modest salary but with the right to enhance his earnings by retaining the fees from some clients.

After winning court cases assigned to him he saw his opportunity to progress as a private practitioner. We learn from his autobiographical work that he went to Lucena to defend a client and while there he interested himself in defending the poor people who were languishing in jail through flimsy causes or trumped-up charges. He made it his rule to charge high fees from the affluent clients and to defend the poor and the needy without pay.

One of his celebrated cases was what he called the Mason case. It was the case of an American lawyer whose real name was not Mason but for ethical considerations he did not record. A detailed report is included in Chapter V of the **The Good Fight** entitled "Law and Practice and Public Office." I can do no better than quote his words:

"The case which definitely established my popularity in Tayabas and which, in my opinion, later contributed to my election as provincial governor, I shall call the 'Mason Case', because that was not the name.

"Mason was an attorney and accompanied by his secretary who acted also as his interpreter, he came to my office one day with twenty-five different deeds of sale of agricultural properties which he wanted to me register in his name. (The prosecuting attorney was then at the same time the register of deeds). I took the papers from him and said that I would attend to it as soon as possible, and he left.

"I placed the papers in one of my drawers and was so busy that I forgot all about them. A week later Mason's secretary came to see me in behalf of his principal to inquire whether I had registered the deeds and I told him no, explaining my reasons, promising, however, to do it immediately.

One hour later, Mr. Mason himself, accompanied by the same secretary, came to my office with his hat on and with-

out even greeting me, shouted: "What did you do with the papers I gave you?" I repeated the answer I had given an hour before to his secretary.

He then threatened that he would complain to my superiors in Manila unless I registered the deeds immediately. My temper, which I had been trying to control since he entered my office, gave way and getting hold of my ink-stand, I ordered him out of my office, saying that otherwise I would break his head. He left, but not without repeating his threat."

After the visit of this American lawyer, Atty. Quezon examined the papers and found that the documents covered sales of lands planted with coconut trees including working animals and that all in all, the twenty-five deeds of sale represented several thousand acres with about 50,000 coconut trees and two or three hundred working animals. The total value of the properties exceeded P60,000.00."

He found the owners of these properties in the provincial jail of Tayabas who have signed the deeds of sale with Mr. Mason's secretary and one of the jail guards acting as witnesses.

The case was tried by an American judge and the plaintiff was defended by some of the ablest and most prominent lawyers at the time, the names of whom are remembered to this day: Judge Kinkaid, Mr. Fisher, Judge Bishop, and Mr. Green.

Those were the so-called "Days of the Empire," when the majority of the Americans in the Philippines were decidedly anti-Filipino and looked upon us with contempt.

Of course, his sense of justice pointed out men of rare exceptions including Colonel Bandholtz of the Constabulary and Governor Taft who was disliked by many of his compatriots because of a speech he delivered advocating the principle "The Philippines for the Filipinos."

That was the first time during the American occupation that a case was brought before the courts with an American

lawyer as a defendant and a Filipino lawyer as a prosecutor. Atty. Quezon obtained the conviction of Mr. Mason which naturally caused no little commotion and enhanced his prestige in the province of Tayabas and in the Philippines.

Quezon was a fighter as a soldier of the Revolution. He joined the movement as a second lieutenant and one of his early assignments was to capture a band of malefactors. He caught the members of the gang, who were court-martialed, and the authorities imposed their just punishment. For his bravery and success he was promoted to first lieutenant.

He served in various capacities in the different seats of the revolutionary government established by Aguinaldo from Malolos to Cabanatuan.

He was a part of Aguinaldo's staff and he came to know the intrepid General Antonio Luna whom Quezon admired and described as "a highly educated man" and added: "No braver soldier was ever born in any clime or any land. When ever a key position was at stake, he always took personal command of the Filipino forces and was the last to retreat. At Calumpit, one of the most bloody battles fought during the war of resistance against the United States, he was wounded, but did not enter a hospital."

After serving in Nueva Ecija, in the Mountain Province, and in Tarlac, Quezon asked General Aguinaldo to be sent to the front. He forthwith was detailed to General Mascardo in a handwritten recommendation of Aguinaldo.

With General Mascardo in Pampanga, he participated in the bloody fights. Later he was assigned to take charge in the Bataan sector. I was appointed division superintendent of schools in Bataan and from the lips of many who had known Quezon I came to know that he was distinguished as a gentleman, as a daring fighter, as a good leader of men.

He loved his soldiers and shared their difficulties in traveling up and down the mountains, swimming rivers, and at times subsisting on scanty food of little rice and salt.

Toward the end of the Revolution, he was assigned to a mission to travel to Manila to ascertain whether or not the rumors were true that Aguinaldo was captured. General Mascardo was anxious to know the facts and received instruction to continue fighting or to surrender.

General Aguinaldo, being a prisoner in Malacañang and had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, felt that he had no right directly or indirectly to advise if the General should go on fighting.

General Mascardo had to assume responsibility for his decision. Quezon saw and interviewed Aguinaldo in Malacañang, "very well treated by the Americans, but a prisoner just the same." On parting from his revolutionary chief Quezon with tears in his eyes prayerfully uttered "God keep you, Mr. President." That experience led Quezon to ponder on General Aguinaldo and the dark future of his country.

With the restoration of peace and the completion of his education in the University of Santo Tomas, he found a new field wherein to demonstrate his qualities as a fighter—politics.

The success he attained as a practitioner and later as a provincial fiscal of Mindoro and then of Tayabas province, now named in his honor, aroused in him the ambition to become an elective provincial governor.

During the early American government, provincial and municipal officials were appointive. When it came time to extend autonomous power to the Filipino people and the position of governor became elective Quezon decided to become a candidate.

This was against the advice of some friends who thought it was a pity to discontinue practising law which was giving him handsome returns and engage in an uncertain political fight.

Some Americans in a group advised the young attorney not to run for they were committed to support another candidate. Quezon, however, lent a deaf ear to their well mean-

ing suggestions and told them: "I am going to fight and win. If I lose, you should celebrate your victory and I will furnish the drinks but if I win, we will celebrate together and you have to attend and bring in the drinks."

The campaign was fast and furious. Able bodied and tireless as a campaigner going from town to town on horseback or on foot, he became known to the people and when the votes were counted, Quezon was elected. The celebration was held and the Americans did their part of the contract.

From that time on, Quezon forgot his hatred of Americans due to the ill-treatment meted out to him as a prisoner and, through the influence of other prominent Americans, he revised his promise to hate Americans and not to learn the English language.

As a Governor of the province then infested with bandits, he exercised personal leadership in the pacification of the towns and barrios. He personally supervised the municipal officials and was in the habit of travelling at night alone to see if the policemen were doing their job.

Catching some of them asleep at their posts, he summarily fired them to set an example. He supplemented his program of service with practical things such as establishing more barrio schools, improving sanitation, encouraging self-help in the building of roads and bridges, and exercising some coercive measures to get people to plant coconuts.

As a superintendent of schools assigned in the then province of Tayabas which included Marinduque, I met some of the coconut planters who confirmed the story being bruited about that Governor Quezon used to whip or threaten indolent men who had vacant lots and did not plant coconuts.

I asked one farmer who owned a goodly number of fruit-bearing coconut trees if he was one of the men whom the governor whipped in order to plant coconuts. He said, "Yes and I am not sorry because from these coconut trees I now own this house, and my children are going to school and one of them is attending college in Manila."

Quezon, no doubt, had a great deal to do with converting his native Tayabas into one of the best coconut producing provinces in the Philippines.

The program of America to extend autonomy to the provinces and municipalities continued and then came the time when the Philippine Assembly was to be organized with elective members. Until then the Philippine Commission was the unicameral legislative body enacting laws for the Philippines, the commission consisting largely of Americans with a few Filipinos without portfolios.

The extension of suffrage for the election of assemblymen was inaugurated and several of the intelligentsia of the race presented their candidates to constitute a coordinate legislative chamber to share in the responsibility of enacting laws for the country.

Manuel L. Quezon ran for the post of assemblyman and easily won. To that first Philippine Assembly were elected men who have become true architects of the nation among whom was the Hon. Sergio Osmeña, former governor of Cebu, and was chosen by his peers to be the first speaker and Quezon was chosen as floor leader.

The two men shared the role of leaders in the political field. They were among the founders of the Nacionalista Party born to wage the fight for immediate and complete independence.

While a member of the Philippine Assembly, Manuel L. Quezon was chosen to be a resident commissioner of the Philippines to the United States. This position entitled our representative to be a member of Congress with all the rights and privileges of American representatives except the right to vote.

The demonstrated eloquence of Quezon in the Philippine Assembly found good application on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives.

By his personality, by his known devotion to the cause of freedom, and his capacity for work and for winning friends,

his career as a commissioner for a period of seven years was crowned with the passage of the Jones Law which led to the reorganization of the Philippine government including the formation of a new legislative body known as the Philippine Legislature consisting of the Philippine Senate and the House of Representatives.

Quezon and Osmeña, as a result of the Jones Law, continued their leadership in the intensified fight for Philippine Independence.

Osmeña continued as a Speaker of the House of Representatives and Quezon, elected as a Senator from his senatorial district without campaigning, was chosen President of the Senate.

One of his most effective fights for a good cause was his long struggle for the improvement of the national economy. With Speaker Osmeña and other leaders, Quezon devoted much time toward securing the greater participation of the Filipinos in the national economy.

It was fortunate that the country had leaders like Quezon and Osmeña who looked into the future and saw the interrelationship between political independence and economic progress.

They inaugurated the policy that the government should initiate economic and industrial policies and practices that would be properly oriented toward eventual entrepreneurship of Filipinos and the establishment of free enterprise.

It was designed that the government should take initiative in economic and financial ventures wherein Filipino capital was timid and wherein Filipinos were somewhat inexperienced.

The role of government was therefore to blaze the trail, open the eyes of the private sectors, and once these are ready and willing to undertake the enterprises themselves the government should withdraw control from the business field and only render assistance and cooperation to them.

It was some such forward looking and statesmanlike view of sound economic policies that governmental and semi-governmental corporation were organized like those that exercised control and supervision over sugar, abaca, coconut, and other major activities.

Under the Osmeña-Quezon-Palma and later Quezon-Osmeña-Palma triumvirate the Philippine National Bank was organized.

Businessmen came to realize with their leaders that there was a need for financial institutions which would extend credit for industrial ventures and economic corporation. To this end a law was passed to establish a Board of Control consisting of the Chief Executive, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate.

The Board of Control was authorized to vote the stock of the government in important financial and economic organizations such as the Philippine National Bank and national development companies for productions of petroleum, for mining coal and iron, for the construction and operation of cement plants, coconut oil refineries, sugar refineries.

The government purchased and operated the Manila Railways and later the Manila Hotel was acquired by the latter. The Jones Law established an all-Filipino Legislature elected by the people. This Legislature enacted laws to lodge the powers of administration as much as possible in Filipino hands.

Under the liberal administration of Governor General Harrison who was appointed upon the triumph of the Democratic Party in the United States headed by President Woodrow Wilson, the Philippine National Bank was among the enterprises or corporations organized and it was a powerful instrument that lent aid to several economic corporations built around the major products of the Philippines.

When Governor General Wood who succeeded Governor General Harrison upon the winning of the Republican Party headed by President Harding issued Executive Order No.

37 eliminating the representation of the Philippine Legislature from the Board of Control for commercial and industrial enterprises capitalized by the government, a great constitutional issue arose.

President Quezon showed his sterling fighting qualities when he led the fight against the step which was a reversal of a policy pursued under Governor Harrison because it meant the curtailment of the autonomous powers contemplated under the Jones Law for which Quezon labored so hard in Washington.

Quezon as a leader in the Senate fought the Chief Executive who sought solely to exercise all the powers and duties of the Board of Control. The Jones Law in its preamble publicly and categorically announced that it was the purpose of the United States to accord the fullest measure of autonomous powers to the government of the Philippines preparatory to the redemption of America's pledge to recognize full and complete Philippine Independence.

In this fight for the preservation of powers won by the Filipino participation in the government, Quezon as a leader was unbending. He used to say often "we have the duty to maintain the autonomy granted to us in the Jones Law in its fullest."

Pursuant to this conviction, he obtained the unified backing and support of the Filipino people irrespective of party affiliations in his patriotic fights against any attempt to diminish Filipino autonomy in the slightest degree. It was one of the bitterest fights in the determined forward march toward a free and sovereign nationhood.

President Manuel L. Quezon labored hard and consistently for intellectual emancipation. He, together with other leaders, was successful in inaugurating a financial policy of giving the lion's share of the annual government appropriation for purposes of education.

One of his most constructive addresses was delivered before teachers and students from different institutions in

Manila wherein he pleaded for education as a means of social reconstruction. Like Rizal before him, Quezon realized that education was the handmaiden of liberty.

He inherited principles enunciated by educational philosophers that a nation must be rooted in virtue.

While militating in the ranks of Freemasonry he imbibed the great and lofty aim set forth in the principles of the fraternity which says: "Through the improvement and strengthening of the character of the individual man Freemasonry seeks to improve the community." Quezon was strong in developing the individual character of the citizens for the stability and progress of the nation.

One of his invaluable contributions was the Code of Citizenship, the text of which follows:

A CODE OF CITIZENSHIP AND ETHICS

1. Have faith in Divine Providence that guides the destinies of men and nations.
2. Love your country for it is the home of your people, the seat of your affections, and the source of your happiness and well-being. Its defense is your primary duty. Be ready at all times to sacrifice and die for it if necessary.
3. Respect the Constitution which is the expression of your sovereign will. The government is your government. It has been established for your safety and welfare. Obey the laws and see that they are observed by all and that public officials comply with their duties.
4. Pay your taxes willingly and promptly. Citizenship implies not only rights but also obligations.
5. Safeguard the purity of suffrage and abide by the decisions of the majority.
6. Love and respect your parents. It is your duty to serve them gratefully and well.
7. Value your honor as you value your life. Poverty with honor is preferable to wealth with dishonor.
8. Be truthful and be honest in thought and in action. Be just and charitable, courteous but dignified in your dealings with your fellowmen.

9. Lead a clean and frugal life. Do not indulge in frivolity or pretense. Be simple in your dress and modest in your behavior.

10. Live up to the noble traditions of our people. Venerate the memory of our heroes. Their lives point the way to duty and honor.

11. Be industrious. Be not afraid or shamed to do manual labor. Productive toil is conducive to economic security and adds to the wealth of the nation.

12. Rely on your efforts for your progress and happiness. Be not easily discouraged. Persevere in the pursuit of your legitimate ambitions.

13. Do your work cheerfully, thoroughly, and well. Work badly done is worse than work undone. Do not leave for tomorrow what you can do today.

14. Contribute to the welfare of your community and promote social justice. You do not live for yourselves and your families alone. You are a part of society to which you owe definite responsibilities.

15. Cultivate the habit of using goods made in the Philippines. Patronize the products and trades of your countrymen.

16. Use and develop our natural resources and conserve them for posterity. They are the inalienable heritage of our people. Do not traffic with you citizenship.

The Republic of the Philippines and the Filipino people have in Manuel L. Quezon a patriot and a statesman who waged a valiant and heroic fight for great causes, many and varied, all centered upon the ideal and objective—an independent, progressive, and sovereign nationhood.

As a soldier, lawyer, executive, legislator, and leader of independence as his goal, he labored and fought for political, economic, cultural, and spiritual independence. It was in line with Quezon's invariable and firm faith in independence that I, not long since, made articulate these views and sentiments:

"The Philippine Commonwealth was conceived in independence. It was born in independence. It must be nurtured in independence. It must grow in independence. And it must mature and endure in independence."

Quezon deserves great credit in the enactment of the Independence Law which provided that "the President of the United States shall by proclamation withdraw and surrender all rights of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control or sovereignty. . . and, on behalf of the United States, shall recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands."

He fought a national campaign to be the first President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines which was semi-independent and semi-sovereign preparatory to the establishment of the Republic of the Philippines which was independent and sovereign.

He lived to take a major part in the approval of the Constitution of the Philippines the preamble of which provides for the supreme purposes "to insure the blessings of independence to ourselves and our posterity under a regime of justice, liberty and democracy."

QUEZON THE NATIONALIST*

By Carlos Quirino

A NATIONALIST is one with a profound devotion to the unity and independence of his country. Under this definition a multitude of Filipinos would qualify as nationalists. Rizal and Marcelo del Pilar, for example, would be considered the great nationalists of the closing decades of the Spanish regime. Bonifacio and Aguinaldo were the great nationalists of the early decades of the American occupation of the Philippines. Jose P. Laurel and Claro M. Recto, despite the judgment of their antagonists during the Japanese occupation, were true nationalists. But the greatest nationalist of them all, in my opinion, was Manuel L. Quezon.

All the nationalists named above advocated national unity and some fought on the battlefield for the independence of our country. But only Quezon achieved the independence that all these heroes sought during their lifetime. Rizal and Del Pilar desired freedom for the Philippines but did not even come close to obtaining it. Bonifacio and Aguinaldo fought vainly for it during the Philippine Revolution. Laurel and Recto proclaimed an independent Philippines, but it was a puppet republic under the heel of the Japanese. Only Quezon, it can be truly said, secured the independence that has lasted to this day.

What made Quezon the greatest nationalist of them all? It was his pride in being a Filipino and his consistent refusal to be subservient to anybody in the world. These traits, his racial pride and rejection of subservience, were noticeable in him even in his teens, when he pounced on the Spanish sergeant of the *guardia civil* in his home town of Baler, Tayabas, for suggesting that he turn pimp. Merely to challenge a Spanish officer could have earned him harsh punishment in those days. He also refused to kiss the hand of the new

* Reprinted from the *Manila Review*, No. 16, pp. 116-122.

parish priest, a Spanish friar, in defiance of custom. For his utter lack of respect for the Spanish overlords he spent several days in jail.

After Manila fell to the Americans in August 1898, he offered his services to the revolutionary army, was commissioned a second lieutenant, and later became aide-de-camp to General Aguinaldo, during the war against the *gringos*. After Aguinaldo's capture in March 1901, and after spending a couple of years in the forests of Bataan where he came down with malaria and dysentery, he surrendered to the American authorities. He had failed to attain his nationalist aspirations by force of arms.

At the suggestion of the acting provincial governor of Tayabas, Quezon joined the American insular government, to pursue his dream of independence. In doing so he was not demeaning himself before the new masters of the archipelago. This was amply proven when an American lawyer, Francis J. Berry, publisher of the *Cablenews*, the most influential Manila newspaper at the time, tried to browbeat him into prosecuting some farmers for brigandage. As provincial fiscal, Quezon had no use for American arrogance, and when he refused to go along with the scheme of the American carpetbagger—who wanted to take possession of the coconut lands of the so-called brigands—he was threatened with disciplinary sanctions for dereliction of duty.

"Get out—and stay out!" Quezon shouted at his visitor.

When Quezon was already the provincial governor, an American barged into his office demanding in a loud voice that he punish a Filipino provincial official who had not given the proper attention to the white man. Quezon rose from his chair, grabbed the inkstand with one hand, and with the other pointed to the door. "Get out—and stay out," he told the crass intruder.

This refusal to be intimidated by any white man, no matter how high the office held, was demonstrated decades later in the august rooms of the U.S. Congress when the Senate majority floorleader, Joseph T. Robinson, questioned

his motive in objecting to the provisions of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting law.

"Go to hell." Quezon dismissed his critic.

Quezon finally got what he wanted—the independence of the Philippines as provided for in the new Tydings-McDuffie law. What he and earlier nationalists had failed to achieve by force of arms, he obtained by peaceful means, by persistently and continuously pleading his cause in the halls of the U.S. Congress and the White House.

Before reaching his goal, he had to travel a long road beset by the intransigence of American governors-general. In the case of Francis Burton Harrison, he had no difficulty at all, partly because he had supported Harrison's candidacy for the post and the latter was properly appreciative, and partly because Harrison believed in giving the Filipinos as much leeway as possible in managing their affairs. But with Governor Leonard Wood the opposite was true, partly because of the Rough Rider's rigid character, and partly because the chief executive believed in American supremacy over colonial subjects. Wood put a stop to the encroachments on the executive power of the Governor-General that the Filipinos had made under the Harrison administration, and even tried to regain the political ground that his kindly predecessor had relinquished. Quezon opposed Wood because he refused to surrender the gains made during previous years; to do otherwise would have been to stifle the growth of Filipino self-government.

Thus, in one of his provincial speeches attacking Wood, Quezon uttered those words that stirred the nationalistic feelings of all Filipinos: ". . . I would prefer," he said, "a government run like hell by Filipinos to one run like heaven by Americans!"

But Wood refused to budge, like the granite hills of Vermont, and Quezon could make no headway. This impasse taught Quezon a lesson. With the governors-general who came after Wood (Henry Stimson, Dwight Davis and Theo-

dore Roosevelt, Jr.), he avoided any confrontation. The Philippine ship of state sailed smoothly thereafter.

Psychologists tell us that people with an inferiority complex tend to be retiring in public and submissive to others. These were two traits that were simply unknown to Quezon. The lack of a sense of inferiority explains many incidents in his life.

For example, while traveling on the luxury ship *Ile de France* in 1933, he and his entourage had the renowned pianist Ignatz Jan Paderewski for a fellow passenger. It was the custom for the ship's orchestra to play the national anthem of the important personages on board. The musicians wanted to honor the Filipino group but did not know the musical score. Thereupon Quezon, in the presence of the Polish maestro, haltingly played with one finger the Philippine anthem on the orchestra's piano, sufficiently for the entire orchestra to render the piece moments later.

Quezon refused to play second fiddle to anybody. This is the reason why he wrested political leadership from Sergio Osmeña, his ally and sometime rival. How Quezon supplanted Osmeña gives a good clinical insight into the personality of the man from Baler.

Quezon had been Osmeña's lieutenant while they were still members of the first Philippine Assembly. The Cebuano was the Speaker, while the Tayabas member was the majority floorleader. Their friendly collaboration lasted for about nine years. But after Quezon had secured the passage of the Jones bill, which granted a measure of self-government to the Filipinos, and had been elected President of the Senate, their rivalry developed slowly but surely. Insular affairs made a turn for the worse after the First World War. The government-owned Philippine National Bank had been mismanaged and had lost millions of pesos as a result. A fact-finding mission composed of Governor Wood and former Governor Forbes had found that the United States in the Philippines was in a "position of responsibility without authority." The

probers found many cases of inefficiency and blatant corruption in government offices.

Members of the ruling Nacionalist party blamed the Speaker from Cebu for his selection of men for key positions in the government. Quezon seized upon this dissatisfaction to accuse Osmeña of "unipersonalism," of deciding national and party affairs all by himself. On the other hand, Quezon claimed, he always consulted the members of the party on important matters and was therefore a "colectivista," because he followed the collective will of the majority of the party members.

Quezon, adroitly moving his political pawns, obtained a slight majority in the Senate in the June 1922 elections, but failed to secure a majority of the seats in the Lower House. He proceeded to get the man of his choice into the Speakership. The story is told by Antonio de las Alas, one of Quezon's henchmen, of how Quezon made this possible.

Quezon invited the Assemblyman from Batangas for "an evening of relaxation" in a Cavite cabaret.

"Tony," said Quezon, "do you still want to be the Speaker of the House?"

"Yes, Mr. President," replied De las Alas.

"You better not be a candidate, because I have promised that position to Manoling Roxas."

"But it is not my decision—it is the decision of the majority of my colleagues."

If he were to follow his public posture of being a "colectivista," Quezon should have given in there and then. But he had one more play in his mind.

"Nevertheless," Quezon insisted, "you'd better withdraw."

"Why should I?"

"Because I cannot continue as Senate President if you are the Speaker. You very well know what tradition dictates—the two legislative chambers should not be headed by

persons coming from the same senatorial district. So you be the Speaker and I'll resign as President of the Senate."

Tony de las Alas was taken aback. For Quezon to relinquish the Senate presidency would be to explode a political blockbuster with disastrous consequences. After thinking it over for a minute or two, the Batangueño said: "If that's the case, Mr. President, you continue as Senate President and I'll withdraw as candidate for the speakership."

It was during this first battle with Osmeña that Quezon made another famous declaration. "My loyalty to my party ends where my loyalty to my people begins!" he exclaimed at a public meeting. Unfortunately, this set a precedent among his less scrupulous successors in the political arena, who have not hesitated to change parties with the ease of changing shirts in order to further their individual ambitions.

Quezon's second fight with Osmeña took place about a decade later, over the approval of the Hawes-Hare-Cutting law which would give independence to the Islands after a 10-year transition period. The former Speaker, together with his fellow Visayan, Speaker Manuel Roxas, had spent more than a year in Washington, D.C., lobbying for the passage of an independence bill, and when their efforts were successful, Quezon rejected the law for various reasons. In reality, Quezon was fully aware that if the country obtained its independence through the efforts of Osmeña and Roxas, he would lose his position of leadership in the archipelago, for whoever brought home a guarantee of independence from the U.S. Congress would become the darling of the electorate. Thus, after a reconnaissance trip to Washington, D.C. he boldly turned down acceptance of the Hawes-Hare-Cutting law. The subsequent passage of the Tydings-McDuffie law vindicated his political prescience.

In his third and final contest with Osmeña, Quezon had recourse to his histrionic ability. Both were then living as exiles in the United States, while the Japanese were running roughshod over Jose P. Laurel and his supposedly independent administration. Quezon's term as President would terminate

at the end of his second four-year term on November 15, 1943, under the constitutional mandate that no person could serve more than eight consecutive years in the office.

Quezon's appeal to President Franklin D. Roosevelt to settle the problem went unheeded. Osmeña believed that the terms of the Constitution should be carried out despite the extraordinary conditions brought about by World War II. After months of uncertainty and arguments with Quezon, Osmeña finally asked Roosevelt to favor a joint congressional resolution suspending the provisions of the Philippine Constitution on presidential tenure.

Osmeña was practically pushed into giving way to Quezon during the last meeting of the cabinet in Washington that October. Told by his subordinates that they needed more time to study the problem of his continuation in office, Quezon rose from his sick bed and ordered his secretary to pack his bags and be ready to leave for California immediately.

"If you want the government—you can have it!" he told Osmeña.

Quezon was suffering from an advanced case of tuberculosis, and he was racked by a fit of coughing that alarmed the cabinet members. Quezon's face was twisted in a paroxysm of pain.

Osmeña afraid that if Quezon died in disappointment for failing to continue as President, he would be blamed by his people, hurriedly said, "Leave the question of your continuance in office entirely in my hands, Mr. President."

On the following morning, Quezon called for his secretary, Dr. Arturo B. Rotor, the writer-physician. The President seemed happy and his cheeks were rosy.

"Rotor," said the President with a twinkle in his eyes, "how was my performance yesterday?"

"Ah," exclaimed Rotor a decade later, recalling the event, "what a great dramatic actor the Philippines lost when Manuel L. Quezon chose law instead of the stage!"

Quezon however, could not break the rules of diplomatic protocol, despite his refusal to kowtow to foreigners. The inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines on November 15, 1935, nearly turned into a fiasco because the American authorities denied the new Filipino chief executive a 21-gun salute.

Late in 1935, General Douglas MacArthur informed Quezon that during his inauguration, he would be given the 21-gun salute accorded only to heads of state. Roosevelt had agreed to this, apparently in ignorance of protocol. But when the time for the rites came, Governor General Frank Murphy turned out to be a stickler for protocol. Secretary of War George Dern, who represented Roosevelt at the inaugural rites for the Commonwealth Government, supported Murphy, who apologetically explained to Quezon that protocol was inflexible in such cases.

Quezon boiled in anger. "I don't have to take my oath of office before that assemblage," he said. "I can do so anywhere I please, and I'll still be President of the Philippines."

Until the eve of the inauguration ceremonies Quezon would not yield. A cablegram came from Roosevelt at the last hour apologizing for his mistake and begging Quezon to accept the 19-gun salute. Quezon relented and agreed to appear the next morning in front of the legislative building. All through the ceremony, Quezon's face was taut and rarely smiled. Guests noticed a strained look on his face. He was still smarting from what he believed was a slight to his office. To the end of his days, he demanded that he be addressed as "President of the Philippines," and never as "President of the Commonwealth."

To make up for his obstinacy during the inauguration, Murphy was the first to call on Quezon at Malacañang Palace in the official exchange of courtesy calls. Quezon took this as a precedent in the course of his official relations with the representative of the United States in the Islands.

But when J. Weldon Jones, the new U.S. High Commissioner, arrived a few months later, he claimed, on the advice

of American military men who disliked both Quezon and MacArthur, that it was improper for him to call first on the Commonwealth President, since the Commonwealth was not a sovereign state.

For weeks Jones remained at the Commissioner's residence on Dewey Boulevard, while Quezon fumed at the Palace.

"Admitting for the sake of argument," said Quezon, "that the High Commissioner precedes the President of the Philippines, the rules of ordinary courtesy demand that he, upon landing on Philippine soil, should first call on the head of the government. The High Commissioner is not an official of the Philippines. How can the President know who the High Commissioner is unless the Commissioner himself calls on him, and formally informs him that he is the High Commissioner? I may receive a formal communication from the U.S. President or the Secretary of War to this effect. But how can I identify him unless he presents himself and tells me that he is the U.S. High Commissioner?"

Reminded that he rated only a 19 instead of a 21-gun salute, the fiery Filipino chief executive retorted: "The question of the number of gun salutes is of little consequence to me. I don't care if not a single gun is fired by the army or navy of the United States. I would order my own army or navy to fire 50 or 100-gun salutes and nobody could stop me."

Commissioner Paul V. McNutt arrived some months later with a written ruling by Roosevelt that the U.S. High Commissioner, as the representative of the President of the United States, was the number-one man in the Islands and outranked the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

This ruling, the next Commissioner, Francis B. Sayre, observed, "understandably irked Quezon and his people..." "So Sayre, with great diplomatic tact, purposely absented himself and his wife from social functions attended by the Quezons, so that the Filipino couple could make their appearance as the ranking figures of the affair.

If Quezon did not have an inferiority complex, neither did he affect a superior air. He never looked down on for-

eigners, especially Americans and Englishmen, just because of the color of their skin. But he was quick to resent being imposed upon, or denigrated, by them.

In his travels abroad he always stayed in the best hotels, rode in Rolls Royce or Cadillac limousines, and booked passage on luxury liners, because he never wanted foreigners to think that Filipinos came from a lesser breed of men. But at home, among his fellow countrymen, he behaved differently. He would ride on a *carretela* while touring the provinces, and eat with his fingers the plain food offered by his rural hosts.

He was a fastidious dresser in public. When his good friend Roy W. Howard, publisher of the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers, gave him as a present a colorful McCrory shirt from Hollywood, handmade in the latest fashion, he liked it so much that he immediately ordered a dozen from the U.S. manufacturer.

This penchant for dressing up like a dandy had its comic repercussions early in his public career, when he was the newly-appointed Philippine Resident Commissioner to the United States. He had been invited to give a luncheon speech before a prestigious New England club. A large curious crowd was at the station. Since he knew no one there, he stood waiting to be greeted. The train left, and the crowd dispersed. Finally, somebody who had remained behind approached him with the words, "Are you Commissioner Quezon?"

The welcomer was profuse in his apologies for not having instantly recognized the guest of honor.

The Americans had expected their guest to come dressed like a headhunting Igorot, complete with feather headdress and G-string—such was the image they had of Filipinos, after the St. Louis Exposition when a band of Igorots were exhibited in the United States as typical of the Islands.

Commissioner Quezon had arrived dressed immaculately in a morning coat, stripped pants, patent leather shoes and spats. A mestizo, he looked more like a Spanish or Latin

American diplomat than a Filipino mountaineer. Quezon merely laughed off the incident and attributed the mistake to the provincialism of New Englanders. But from that time on, he made sure that his hosts would recognize him for what he truly was—the representative of the Filipino nation.

THE MEASURES OF HIS GREATNESS*

By Various Authors

MEASURED by all the accepted yardsticks of greatness, and tested by all the possible formulas of leadership, Senate-President Manuel L. Quezon, who completes his 54 years tomorrow, stands unique among the national leaders of the world.

There are kings who have kept their thrones by abdicating power. There are dictators who have maintained their authority through the support of terrorizing organizations. There are presidents whose popularity waned before their terms of office have ended. But Senate-President Quezon, wielding power and with only a political party as an extra-legal means, has been the idol of his people for two decades.

Why, in a popular government where elections are held ever so often, he has not suffered the fates of kings and dictators and presidents, will be one of the wonders of history. And yet, his leadership is devoid of intrigue and mystery. His hold on the people and the people's hold on him are matters of fact so often discussed that they have come to be taken for granted.

Quezon has come to the present height of his leadership because the people have abiding affection for and faith in Quezon. How the leader has come to deserve these two of the highest of popular tributes in fact constitutes the senate-president's life-history which, of course, can only be treated justly and adequately in a lengthy biographical work.

Popular affection for a leader is born of a combination of circumstances. Quezon, the brilliant student in San Juan de Letran College and Sto. Tomas University; the courageous major in the revolutionary army; the comparatively untried

* Reprinted from the Philippines Herald, August 18, 1932.

and perhaps comparatively crude Quezon in provincial politics; the young *diputado* in Manila beginning to captivate imagination with his keen mind and persuasive oratory; the resident commissioner in Congress who returned home with the Jones Law; the senate-president who guided his people through their greatest trial in nationalism; the leader of today cautiously but firmly guiding his people to the final consummation of their aspirations: These fragments of history constitute the kaleidoscopic mental picture that touches the hearts of millions of Filipinos.

When the young Quezon played his boyish pranks, when the matured Quezon fought for his country, when he stormed in Congress to wrest a political concession from the sovereign government, he won his people with his attribute of fighter. His personal magnetism and his democracy, his boon companions of boyhood days tell, have developed with the years. His irresistible and contagious enthusiasm and earnestness in dealing with problems and persons have withstood sickness. Always democratic, he has through the years allowed himself to be drawn closer to the people by an increasing and abiding affection.

Rivaled by their affection for the man is their faith in his capacity and patriotism. Three decades of continuous public service have been rewarded by an enduring popular faith in the senate-president. He is the old reliable in everything that concerns the popular welfare. When Quezon does this or advocates that, there is not in their mind any room for doubt whatever. They have witnessed his patriotism tested in every conceivable manner and always in every test proving its inexorable goodness. An abiding faith in the man has been the result.

Expressions of tribute to Quezon are numerous. Those from his own people, and others in a position to observe his life and career, on the occasion of his birthday tomorrow, appear hereunder. Along with them should be remembered others paid him by such judicious and wise men as the late Senator Jones, author of the Jones Act, Roy Howard, Cong-

ressman Henry Allan Cooper, Senators King and Hawes, and Frazier Hunt.

Following are the expressions of tribute and admiration gathered by **The Herald** from local leaders in politics, business, labor and religion. They are men who know Quezon the leader, the friend and the man. They are in most advantageous positions to tell us of the senate-president; they are men whose recollections, observations and opinions would be invaluable to the biographer.

DON FRANCISCO ORTIGAS,
Business Man and Lawyer:

Vivid recollections of the days when Quezon was a student in the famous college of San Juan de Letran, and his first colorful acts as a member of the Philippine bar were revived by Don Francisco Ortigas, a schoolmate of President Quezon, a distinguished alumnus of the Letran College himself and a luminary in the profession.

"From the year 1888 Quezon and I with many others were rooming together as boarders in Letran. Pres. Quezon was then one of the most brilliant in the college. Every end of the year he was a medalist with the grade of **sobre saliente**, which entitled him to the yearly grand competition among those who obtained similar grades. Quezon invariably copped the grand medal every year.

"The subject in which Pres. Quezon excelled most during his college days was physics. He liked it so much that he was not contented with the college text alone. Whenever he recited his lessons he would give the opinion of two or three other physics authors besides the author of the text we studied. The physics medal of his class was monopolized by the president all the time he stayed in Letran. The other subject in which he outshined the others in the college was, I believe, in methaphysics. It was in this subject that he began to show signs of a great future parliamentarian. His mastery and sound logic won for him the admiration and respect of his college mates and the faculty members.

"He was never though what one might call a conscientious student. He was simply bright. I clearly remember that he used to chat and play during class hours, but the moment he was called upon to recite his lessons, he knew them very well, which shows that it required him only very little time to ingest what was taught him.

"His only handicap in college, besides money, of which we were always short, was his conduct which was very far from being desirable. He was a naughty student, full of pranks. He invariably disobeyed the regulations of the college, which caused to him no little amount of trouble and annoyance. I remember one day when a sign was posted in a conspicuous place in the college prohibiting, under strict penalty, boys to pass from one hall to another through the windows. Pres. Quezon was not in the habit of passing that way, but just to contravene the order, he did so before a crowd of students. This was of course made known to the rector, who severely reprimanded him.

"On another occasion, Mr. Quezon was deprived of a quarterly medal in physics for another of his youthful pranks. The vice-rector through some of Pres. Quezon's companions suggested that he apologize for what he had done, assuring him that the medal would be granted him if he did. This, Quezon refused to do. I could then detect in him signs of future greatness, for whenever he was convinced that a thing was right, he never gave it up.

"He was a little fighter also. No matter the size of his adversary, he always gave him a good scrap to the delight of his friends and companions. He was never a bully though. He was ever in sympathy with the underdogs, so to speak, hence he was liked by the majority of the college mates.

"I do not very well remember his doings after he left our alma mater. When he was admitted to the Philippine bar, however, he worked in the law firm of Del Pan, Fisher and myself. His salary then was P150.00 monthly.

"The first case he tackled in court was that in which 15 or 16 ex-revolutionists were charged under the law of ban-

ditry. The case was heard before Judge Sweeney in Manila, the fiscal being one Mr. Jorge. It was two days after the trial had started that I was told that the fiscal was determined to file a criminal complaint against him for alleged threats made on certain witnesses of the government who were then kept inside Bilibid. I went immediately to the court and I found that what I was informed of was true. The fiscal was blowing against Pres. Quezon and threatening him with a criminal complaint. But the future senate head, with easy composure, replied smilingly that the fiscal could threaten him all he liked but 'that he was not big enough to cower him.' Judge Sweeney was a big-hearted, learned man. He liked the smartness, and the talent evinced by the young lawyer during the trial. The result was that 12 of those defended by him were set free.

"At that time also it befell Mr. Quezon's lot to be the attorney of Tolentino, the famous author who was charged of sedition for his work *Ayer, Hoy, y Mañana*. He acquitted himself brilliantly in that case, and his fame as a lawyer began to be spread all over the Philippines.

"Two or three months after he passed the bar examination he was assigned to Mindoro as fiscal, where dozens of persons were incarcerated as revolutionists. Before he went to Mindoro he came to me to consult about his new position. I advised him frankly that it was not the place for him, as most of the cases he would handle would be of criminal nature, which would not bring him big returns. Quezon, however, was determined to accept the position. He told me that he knew of the excesses committed against the poor prisoners there, and that it was his duty to go there. Upon his arrival in Mindoro he set to studying the cases before him, and one by one he sent the prisoners to their respective homes. Judge Lindbargher, who was then the district Judge of Mindoro, took fancy of him, and worked for his transfer from Mindoro to Tayabas, where he stayed until he was elected governor of the province. In Mindoro he was once charged with a complaint, resulting in the sending of Judge Ross to that place for a special investigation. It was found out

that Quezon was strict and severe in the prosecution of his cases. Judge Ross upon his return to Manila submitted a report of the matter favorable to Quezon.

"There is one quality Quezon possesses which few men rarely have—the power to attract the friendship of strangers. During the time he was fiscal of Tayabas he became very close friend of General Bandholdtz, as well as of General Harbord, then an assistant chief of the Philippine constabulary with the rank of colonel. The friendships he made with such prominent Americans here helped Quezon much, I understand, in the United States. Had Quezon devoted his life in the practice of the lawyer's profession, I have no doubt that he would have been one of the greatest if not the greatest lawyer of the Philippines."

DON MANUEL EARNSHAW,
Former Resident Commissioner:

Don Manuel Earnshaw, who was, for four years (1913-1917), a colleague of President Quezon as resident commissioner in Washington, recalled in vivid terms the great role President Quezon played while championing the cause of the Philippines in the United States. It is doubtful, he said, whether any one could duplicate the great work of President Quezon in America at that time. In his mind, the greatest political concessions of the United States to the Philippine Islands were the result of Quezon's ability and talent. It will be remembered that the Jones bill granting us the establishment of the Senate, the promise of independence and other rights, were secured during the interregnum of the Quezon-Earnshaw combination. Don Manuel Earnshaw, however, attributes to the President all the glory for that remarkable piece of legislation, the Jones Law.

Says Mr. Earnshaw:

"There can only be but one Quezon. I hope he has an equal among our people. He is the leader whom any nation or race could be proud of. During our four years of association in Washington, which, by the way were the happiest in

my life, I came to learn of his greatness and patriotism. Representative of a subject people that he was, Quezon was admired and respected by those he came in contact with in that capital. Whether in congress, in the White House, or in the department offices in Washington—wherever he went—he was well received and well attended. Being his associates, I shared naturally the attention accorded him wherever we went together.

"I never felt more proudly in belonging to the Filipino race than at the time Quezon made his appearances on the floor of congress to defend our cause. The praises which he evoked from the American legislators by his brilliant and masterful exposition of his plea, swelled my heart with pride as it never was before. Without reflecting on the ability of the American congressmen against whom Quezon locked horns, so to speak, during his verbal squirmishes on the floor of congress, I can say without fear of contradiction that Quezon always got the best of it. This was but natural of course since they were debating on a subject in which Quezon was much at home.

"I desire to speak more of Quezon, but I must refrain from doing it further as I am afraid I might be misinterpreted by those who see things always in the wrong light. May his life be spared many more years for the use of his family and our dear Philippines."

DON VICENTE SINGSON ENCARNACION,

Businessman, Lawyer, Former Senator:

"President Quezon, because of the importance of the different positions he has held during the last 25 years, has naturally been criticized and even vigorously opposed and at times praised and commended.

"But today when the country is undergoing an economic crisis more acute than what we have ever imagined, today when in the social horizon seems to loom a portentous omen that threatens to destroy our social structure, and today when

both criticism and praise should cease in order not to disturb the serenity of his mind, and we Filipinos should give him our fullest cooperation, by making suggestions which we believe will be of some usefulness, or by pointing to whatever danger we fear we might incur.

"When a step or an act of his is capable of various interpretations, we should incline to believe those that are compatible with honor, honorable intention, and good faith."

REV. FATHER SERAPIO TAMAYO,

Rector of Sto. Tomas University:

"As a student, both at the San Juan de Letran college and at the University of Santo Tomas where he took up his high school and three years' law courses respectively, President Quezon was always known among his schoolmates and professors as *sobre saliente*. I have always known him as a brilliant student.

"Even in Roman law President Quezon obtained high marks, although the professor was extraordinarily strict. The professor had probably been well-impressed with the ability of the young student that he could not do otherwise but give him high marks.

"The records that we have dugged up from our files show the kind of student that Quezon was. He finished many of the courses with medals showing excellence.

"As a boarder at the dormitory, he led an exemplary life. He was admitted for his scholastic attainments, his ability and leadership."

JUDGE JAMES ROSS, American Jurist:

"I have known Quezon for about 30 years, during which time I saw him rise from a provincial fiscal to the leadership of his people. President Quezon will be a great man in any country. And the Filipino people are fortunate in having such a man to manage their affairs. He has done splendid work for his country in every position he has held.

"He is a magnetic personality and he possesses a brilliant mind and a courage to face any situation fearlessly. I expect in times like this his leadership is badly needed and he will supply such leadership. I am glad to know that his health is improving and I hope that he has before him many more years of useful service to his people. He has an extraordinary grasp of subjects and an alert mind.

"He is a loyal and affectionate friend, with a lovable personality. He is also affectionate in his family relations. He likes the company of his friends and his is liked too, for he has a magnetic personality. But for the sake of his country President Quezon sometimes cannot always be with such company of which he is so fond.

"President Quezon has sacrificed everything for his people. He could have been a brilliant lawyer and could have earned a lot of money but he never thought of it. He has given his whole life to the service of the country.

"Mistakes? I can't think of any mistake he has made. He seems to have an instinct for being right. As an enemy he is a dangerous one, for he is a fighter. He studies every question thoroughly.

"What he dislikes most are dishonesty and hypocrisy—and pretence. He would destroy any crooked man in the government, no matter who he is."

TEODORO M. KALAW,

Director of the National Library:

"I began worshipping Quezon as a leader twenty-four years ago. My connections and familiarity with him, put me under advantageous circumstances to see Quezon, the man, the political figure, and the leader of boundless resourcefulness. Long before I had accompanied him to St. Petersburg in 1908 where he represented the Philippine government at the International Conference on Navigation, I had already predicted, in my own queer way, that he would become great in

the near future. At last I have found out that I was not wrong.

"President Quezon's personality is very commanding not only among the Filipinos but also among foreigners. He moves about, acts, speaks, and looks at you straight in the eye in a way that at an instant you feel his greatness, his superiority. I noticed this particularly among European peoples whom we had chance to get in contact with during our trip to St. Petersburg back in 1908. Our friends from all nation representing different traits, different attitudes, hailed President Quezon as a superior figure.

"President Quezon also has a way of making friendship. People are drawn to him and take him into their confidence. But while friends to him, they respect him and look up at him, more as their superior than as their equal."

**MAJOR J.E.H. STEVENOT, Vice-President,
Philippine Long Distance Telephone Co.**

"President Quezon as a leader would be a credit to any country. He possesses the brilliant qualities so necessary to leaders who have the courage to express their convictions. He understands Americans and their institutions to a remarkable degree. While he has been very ill during the past three years, his mind today is clearer than it ever was, comprehending economic as well as social and political problems with an extraordinary depth of vision.

"As a friend there is no one with a bigger heart in the world than he.

"My firm belief is that the people of the Philippines will not realize the value of President Quezon as a leader until he is gone. Everyone should do his part to support him in his efforts to bring about a mutually satisfactory solution of the Philippine question.

"The people of the Philippines should pray that President Quezon have many happy returns of the day and that they enjoy his unselfish leadership for many more years to come."

MAYOR TOMAS EARNSHAW of Manila:

"I cannot talk freely of President Quezon, due to the strong bonds of friendship which links us two—I was the sponsor of his marriage and a god-father of his son, Manolo—but even if I were permitted to do so I should not be able to find adequate words to praise his great accomplishments as a leader of the Filipino people.

"President Quezon is one of the few in our race endowed with real greatness. In him exceptional talent and valor are united. His undaunted courage has always been present with him both in victory and defeat. His capacity for work has won for him the admiration of all those who know him.

"It was in Washington, while I was a member of the second independence mission, that I came to observe him at close range. During more than two months we dined together in a hotel. Day and night I saw Quezon attending the business for which he was sent there by our people. The story of his successes in the United States Congress is already too well known for me to relate anew. But what the people little know was the hardships and the sacrifice which he endured there, especially on its financial side.

"If there is any living Filipino who deserves the eternal gratitude of his people, that one is President Quezon. I wish for him many happy returns of the day, and may he live longer for the glory and happiness of our beloved country."

J. ROSENTHAL, American Businessman:

President Quezon is a loving husband and a doting father. He does justice to everybody regardless of nationality and will never side with Filipinos in any controversy with other nationals if the Filipinos are wrong.

"A great many Americans in the community doubt whether the President is sincere in his desire for independence. I wish to emphatically say that the President, if possible, would be willing to make a covenant with regard to Filipinos getting independence, and he would gladly consider his work

done and he would gladly go to His Maker feeling all his ambition in life has been accomplished.

"The President is one of the most generous men I have come in contact with, in helping people in financial distress. I know of many instances in which he has given financial aid when he really could not afford to do so.

"As a friend he is a staunch one, as many heads of the departments can verify. I have known him intimately for more than 15 years—and he is the same great soul, big-hearted man today as he was when I first knew him.

"On the occasion of his 54th birthday I wish him long life and happiness."

VICENTE L. DEL FIERRO:

"President Manuel L. Quezon is one of the leading national figures of the world today. It is statesmen of his type, who forget themselves and think only of their country and their people's future that are needed today."

These are the words of one of the most prominent American oldtimers here who knows President Quezon intimately, from the time he was just finishing his law course in Santo Tomas University after undergoing all kinds of privations in the battlefield up to the present day when Mr. Quezon is regarded by Filipinos as the foremost leader of their race. It was F. Theo. Rogers, first secretary of the senate president and business manager of the Philippines Free Press, who said these words.

Mr. Rogers and Mr. Quezon struck up a friendship way back in 1900 and from that time on they have been personal friends. As a result, Mr. Rogers had been privileged to watch the growth of Mr. Quezon's career in public life, from the time he was provincial fiscal of Marinduque and Tayabas up to the present time.

It is not strange that Mr. Rogers and Mr. Quezon should fall for each other. "I admire him," Mr. Rogers repeated numberless times as he unfolded in our talk the landmarks

in the career of the Philippines' foremost statesman who tomorrow celebrates his 54th birthday with more than thirty years spent in the liberation fight for his people. It was a case of the West meeting the East despite Kipling's never-the-twain-shall-meet. The New Englander in Mr. Rogers found beautiful things to appreciate in Mr. Quezon, the *simpatico* in the early days and even now, and between the two of them has been built loyalty that bridges race and time.

Mr. Rogers, though a personal friend of most persons of consequences in the entire Philippines and of many notable and interesting figures in other lands readily singles out Senate President Quezon as one of the leading statesman in the world today.

Mr. Rogers speaks from personal observation of Mr. Quezon's career for over thirty years and intimate association with him. Hearing Mr. Rogers speak of Mr. Quezon, you would think this American oldtimer (he came here in 1899 with the 12th United States Volunteers, from Massachusetts), is a Filipino. I believe Mr. Rogers is a Filipino in this respect, and I agree with the late Vicente Blasco Ibañez whom Mr. Rogers interviewed in Mentone in 1925, that Mr. Rogers is a Filipino-American journalist. For Mr. Rogers' admiration of President Quezon, and his appreciation of his picturesque personality, comes spontaneously from the heart and soul of an alien race.

Mr. Rogers has travelled with Mr. Quezon. Eaten with him. Slept with him. Suffered with him. Rejoiced with him.

It was Mr. Rogers who first "sold" Mr. Quezon to the world, to paraphrase a reminiscent phrase of the New Englander. Shortly after the opening of the First Philippine Assembly, that august body of Filipino intellectuals who laid the foundation of representative government here, of which Mr. Quezon was a member, Mr. Rogers was appointed secretary of Mr. Quezon. The following year, 1908, Mr. Quezon was appointed Philippine delegate to the International Navigation Conference in St. Petersburg, Russia, and the two went to that conference.

"President Quezon impressed every body with his chivalry and colorful personality on his first world tour," Mr. Rogers recalls.

That trip, which covered the whole world, was the eye-opener for Mr. Quezon. Having suffered on the field of battle for his country; and being a member of the First Philippine Assembly, the world tour proved both educational and pleasurable for the then Assemblyman Quezon and he came back more determined than ever before to devote his life to the service of his motherland.

In recalling this incident, I interrupted Mr. Rogers with a query as to whether it is true that Mr. Quezon had said, while they were in Russia, that he was the "Prince of the Philippines", as a certain current anecdote would have it.

The answer of Mr. Rogers lifted a legend long in my mind. "That is not true," he explained. "Mr. Quezon never sails under false colors. This is how it happened. When we were in Moscow, we wanted very much to see the Romanoff crown jewels in the Kremlin but there was no way of achieving this wish because only members of the royalty are allowed to see those treasures. We asked the hotel manager where we were staying how we could get into the closely guarded vaults that housed the three-billion-dollar fortune and we were told we had to get a pass from St. Petersburg. "Do you mean to say", I told the hotel man within hearing of one of the guards, "that you would subject the Prince of the Philippines to such indignity?" Somehow or other, the remark was overheard, and when I was asked again if it was true that my companion, President Quezon, was the Prince of the Philippines, I replied in the affirmative. It was intended more to gain time than anything else, but just the same, the Russians took it to heart. Any way, Mr. Quezon is a prince of good fellows and nobody can tell whether at some remote time, we could trace our origin to royalty."

That world trip definitely stamped Mr. Quezon as a national leader. In that trip, he gained the respect and admiration of the President of the Russian Duma and other notable

personalities. He impressed everybody that he came in contact with.

During the interview, Mr. Rogers was seldom interrupted and, therefore, his impressions came willingly, naturally without any urging whatever.

"From the first time I met him, I have been convinced that President Quezon is a true leader of his people. It is in his blood. You can not take it from him. It was born with him and will always stay with him.

"Review the entire public career of President Quezon and you'll not find a single instance in which he has left a doubt linger in the mind of his people. He is always frank, straightforward, daring, dashing, honest. He is a born fighter and when he fights, he fights openly, courageously. He always fights for his convictions and almost in every instance, he wins. Take the case of the recent rumpus in the legislature over the pork barrel. When a Representative attacked Governor General Roosevelt for suspending the pork barrel, Mr. Quezon stood up and declared before the majority caucus that it was unfair that the governor general should be subjected to unjust accusation. He said that it was he who had suggested to the governor that the pork barrel might be suspended, and, therefore, if there was any one to be attacked, it was he and not the governor general. The courageous stand ended the fulminations."

Mr. Quezon has distinguished himself in every public career he has held.

"He was a fearless fiscal. He was a tireless and far-sighted governor of Tayabas. That province owes its greatness to him. He is a brilliant parliamentarian and was easily the most vivid personality in the First Assembly.

"He is the greatest Resident Commissioner the Philippines ever had in Washington.

"He is our greatest leader today."

The growth of Statesman Quezon has been steady because he has guided his people sanely, fearlessly. This comes from

an innate, selfless love of country demonstrated in war during the revolution and in peace during the thirty years of devoted labor under the aegis of the Stars and Stripes.

Mr. Rogers, viewing the career of his personal friend for the last three decades, firmly believes that Mr. Quezon would be a great leader in any country. It is his conviction that when it comes to the affection of a people for a national leader, Mr. Quezon has no equal in the world today except possibly Mahatma Gandhi.

"Like Mahatma Gandhi," Mr. Rogers remarked, "he is sacrificing unselfishly for his people. Like Mahatma Gandhi he is guiding his people along the path of permanent happiness. He is unmindful of himself in his devotion to them. He would even risk his position, his life to serve their interests.

"I am reminded of his now famous Three Proposals for the solution of the Philippine problem. It took a Quezon to tell the truth to the people. No other Filipino leader could, or would have done it. This brings us to the inevitable and telling fact that Quezon is a progressive statesman who sees, like a skipper sailing the rough seas, clearly ahead, unmindful of the waves trailing behind him. He is thinking not in terms of the present, not in terms of himself, but in terms of ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty years ahead. He is thinking of the future of his people. He would rather see them denounce him, if they may, rather than betray the trust they have in him.

"In recent years, because of his illness, Mr. Quezon has grown more noble, more cautious. This is the wisdom that comes with age. And quite apace, the love of his people for him has grown. They have paid the closest attention to the minutest bulletin about his health.

"They feel the need for his guiding spirit, stronger than ever.

"They repose their trust in him because they believe he is the leader who will give up everything for his people."

President Quezon's remaining in office despite his illness is a sterling proof of his desire to serve. He could very well retire now, Mr. Rogers said. But he sticks to his job because he feels his people need him now more than at any other time in their history.

Mr. Rogers stands upon a dilemma as to whether it is wise for Mr. Quezon to remain at the helm of the Filipino participation in the government notwithstanding his illness. He has his fears that in Mr. Quezon's desire to give his utmost best to the Filipino people, he may prematurely leave them.

Such is the picture today of Manuel L. Quezon, statesman and patriot.

WALTER ROBB, Editor,

American Chamber of Commerce Journal:

"All who know their Philippines or make an effort to know them have only the best of wishes for Senate President Manuel L. Quezon, whose ears would burn with conscious pride could he but overhear the gratifying conversation around many an American table when news of his birthday marks off another year for him—of which may he have many more and prosperous ones.

"While the American community is dominantly a business one, and business men know no man is indispensable, the fact that Mr. Quezon is now but 54 years old and imparts confidence; and it is a fact that his prolonged illness, which he now seems sure of throwing off, disturbed the thoughts and aroused the sympathies of Americans who do not know him personally and only judge him by what he does and the place he holds.

"Newspaper men appreciate Mr. Quezon's frankness. He makes them at ease and feels at ease with them. Within the bounds of prudence, he gives them information generously; he understands their anxiety to be as deep 'in the know' as possible and will always satisfy this anxiety if he can. "But men in general are most impressed by his conservatism, re-

flecting the same characteristic in his people. The most 'human' side of him I ever observed was an occasion at his Sta. Ana home 14 years ago when he was getting ready to go to Washington and I was getting an interview from him for **The Bulletin**. It was his last morning in Manila, until he should return, and Tayabas folk, men of his native province, had taken possession of him.

"The high and low were there to spread a banquet for him in the *entresuelo* of the house; and while he received officials and gave interviews and bethought himself tardily of things needed for his luggage, the preparations went on. I suppose the scene verified all the criticisms heard of late about the 'personal' character of political leadership in the Philippines, for after all it was homage to a chief—an emotional tribute to leadership. But at the same time I suppose these criticisms are very trite: great political leadership can be very 'personal', and there is hardly any other great kind at all—because no other kind gets to first base in the political game.

"Like most other people I see Mr. Quezon very seldomly. Like nearly everybody, I follow his career mainly in the newspapers. And it is mainly reassuring."

**A. V. H. HARTENDORP, Editor,
Philippine Magazine:**

"No purer patriotism has ever been voiced than in Mr. Quezon's opening address to the Philippine Senate a month ago in which he expressed the belle, that at this time, when the country is confronted with many complex problems, 'the members of the Legislature will think and act only as Filipinos with the single purpose of serving the best interests of the country, without reference to political affiliations or doctrinal attachment, and laying aside all petty antagonisms', and, speaking more specifically of the necessity of reorganizing and simplifying the governmental machinery, advocated that such measures as might be found necessary be applied 'with out distinction', holding that 'no considerations of a personal or political nature should deviate us from this course.'

"No one could maintain that Mr. Quezon's career has always been disinterested; his life has been largely a struggle for power, for himself, for his party, and to that he has often had to sacrifice other considerations. But the fault has lain less in himself than in his milieu; he is a statesman among statesmen, and has to be a politician among politicians.

"But right or wrong, in victory or in defeat, he is always Quezon, always either the conqueror or the unconquerable. A born leader of men he would be a leader anywhere. He will continue to be a leader until his last breath. He is a leader by virtue of his personality. He has that almost magical quality which makes it impossible for even his most downright enemies to hate him. He draws men to himself like few men in history have been able to do. And in addition to that he has insight and vision, and, above all, courage, and an indomitable will.

"I can not boast the honor of knowing him intimately. I have never talked with him alone and in confidence for even ten minutes. What I say of him is based on observation of his public attitudes and acts. There have been times when I considered his leadership open to criticism, and, as an editor, have frankly said so. I am no panegyrist, and I am writing these paragraphs because I have been invited to do so by the editor of the **Philippines Herald**. But the strong sense of public responsibility and his apparent indifference to his own political interests in the narrower sense which he has often exhibited, and especially at this time, must force the admiration of even his severest critics.

"What has Mr. Quezon personally to gain by assuming control of the principal party organization at this time when the necessity for cutting the budget almost in half, reorganizing the government, reducing the salaries and abolishing the positions of numerous functionaries, and practically eliminating all "pork barrel" legislation, must inevitably lead to the hostility and opposition of men less public-spirited than he and may even in loss of general popularity and strength of following?

"The cynical may say that Mr. Quezon may have planned to use the opportunity presented by the need of reorganizing to eliminate those who oppose him and to strengthen his following. But practically speaking, Mr. Quezon can not even have hoped that the degree of his control over the situation would be sufficient to carry out any such maneuver. Others may say that it was just the irrepressible Quezon in him that induced him to come out at this time after several years of virtual retirement, due to ill health, when he saw the game grow interesting and an opportunity to play a vital and dramatic part.

"Why did he not stay happily and safely in his pleasant Baguio retirement? Why should he not have left it to others to take charge of the highly necessary but disagreeable and dangerous work that confronted the leaders of the Legislature? He could easily have pled the condition of his health.

My own answer is—patriotism. The hour calls imperatively to the man, and the man steps forward.

"Mr. Quezon will be fifty-four years old tomorrow. I believe that it may be said of him that his fifty-fourth year is one of his greatest. May every succeeding year be still greater until he is twice as old."

**VICENTE G. BUNUAN, former Director of the
Philippine Press Bureau:**

"The Herald has requested me to write a brief interpretation of Manuel L. Quezon upon the occasion of the anniversary of his birth. This task would have been better entrusted to one who has had a longer connection, personal and official, with the President, for mine is a simpler and a more unpretentious nature. I have been associated with him, however, rather intimately, during the last few years, in our independence campaign work in America, and I will merely relate here three incidents that more than anything else graphically describes him.

"When every one in the Philippines and those of us in the United States had given up all hope of preventing Nicho-

las Roosevelt from becoming vice governor of the Islands, President Quezon, upon arrival in Seattle on his way to Monrovia, wrote a simple letter of protest to the Secretary of War which succeeded in achieving what others who personally were on the ground failed to accomplish—the resignation of Roosevelt from the vice governorship, or, to be exact, the withdrawal by President Hoover of his ad interim appointment of Roosevelt and appointing him instead, minister of Austria.

“It is now commonly known that President Quezon expressed his determination to resign if the Administration insisted upon sending Roosevelt to the Philippines. The Legislative Mission then in the United States who met Mr. Quezon in Seattle on its return to Manila earnestly advised President Quezon not to persist in that determination because the Administration was set on sending Roosevelt to the Philippines and his resignation would, therefore, be in danger of being accepted. But Mr. Quezon was unmoved. Convinced as he was of the rightness of his case, loyalty to the overlordship of reason which he knew would prevail if but firmly but respectfully presented to the authorities made him turn a deaf ear to the advice of the Mission. With his old time determination that seemed to grow in intensity as the body was giving way to the ravages of illness, tempered down by a statesmanship which to me reached its climax in the composition of that letter, which will rank as one of the priceless documents in Philippine history, he took his own advice and acted accordingly.

“When he said in the opening paragraph

Let me at the outset disclaim any intention on our part to challenge the power of the President to appoint whomsoever he chooses. We are only exercising the right of petition, the use of which in this instance and in my case, considering the position I hold, becomes a duty, imposed alike by my loyalty to the Government of the United States and to the people of the Philippine Islands. I hope, therefore, that these representations will be accepted in the spirit in which they are made,

he put the stamp of statesmanship in the document which, by the very nature of that opening observation no one could

deny giving serious consideration to the plea that followed. After saying that upon re-reading Roosevelt's book in an effort to find a ground upon which he could stand to conform his views with those of the Administration regarding the appointment, he was convinced more than ever that Roosevelt could not be accepted by the Filipinos. Then he said:

I would request you, Mr. Secretary, to realize how humiliating it will be for the Filipino people to have at the head of their Department of Public Instruction and, from time to time, as acting head of their Government, one who has branded them as dishonest and deceitful, and how extremely embarrassing it will be for the Filipinos in public life to deal officially and socially with one who has written of them with contempt.

In recent years, I have cooperated, first with Governor Stimson and then with Governor Davis, to bring about a better understanding and more cordial relations between the people of the Philippines and the representatives of the Government of the United States in the Islands, with the result that not only have these relations very much improved but also the racial feeling,—which has always been the thorn in the Philippine problem,—between Americans and Filipinos. You can, therefore, very well understand my very serious concern over this appointment, which will surely revive racial antagonisms.

Allow me, Mr. Secretary, to place these considerations before you, as the Chief of the Department in charge of the Philippine affairs, with the request that you lay them before the President.

"This letter prevented Roosevelt from coming to the Philippines.

"In referring to this letter to me in Washington, he laughingly remarked: 'I was rather hard put in writing that letter because I had no one to help me. I did not know whether I was using the correct preposition or the correct construction, but I kept on until I finished and then mailed it. Yet, I think it turned out to be not such a bad letter after all.' Those perusing the letter will agree that his appraisal of it is modest to the extreme.

"Manuel L. Quezon is one of the best if not the best-read man in the Philippines today; he has dedicated his entire four years of illness to reading. Books of all kinds, ancient,

mediaeval, modern—books just off the press—have passed through his hands and through his mind. He does not read them merely for pleasure or to while away the long days during those four years; he reads to learn, like a student studying his lesson. Mr. Quezon today has acquired a fullness of information, a roundliness of thought that have become a valuable asset to him and to the Filipino people now that he has again assumed active leadership.

"An American and a Filipino, both men of high professional culture, called on President Quezon at his home in Washington during his last visit in the American capital. I was present. Conversation turned 'on the economic affairs of the world, on Soviet Russia, bankrupt China, etc. During the early part of the conversation the two visitors talked on these subjects and it was apparent to me that they were making an almost painful effort to explain fully what they were trying to convey, as from an informed teacher to a learning child. Then all of a sudden they became the listeners as the President cited facts, figures, books and authors in illustrating his points. Both went home acquiring instead of imparting knowledge. It is said of Woodrow Wilson, the scholar president, that when you are in his presence you are 'informed beyond your worth'. It is not exaggeration to apply this to Mr. Quezon, not alone on questions in politics of which he is a master, but on literature and economics as well. For his four years of sequestration has made of him a highly cultured gentleman—one of the highest compliments that can be paid to any man.

"It is said of Manuel L. Quezon that his personality is his greatest attraction. My association with him in Washington, the last time he was there, gave me the privilege of witnessing the unfolding and the magnetic attraction of that personality. Men high in the councils of the American government used to go to him, not once merely to pay a courtesy call, but many times. Stimson, Hurley, General McArthur, official representatives of the President used to go to see him, either to spend a pleasant social afternoon or evening or to confer with him on important matters relating to the

object that brought him to Washington. No other Filipino, in his capacity as an official of the Philippine government or merely as an individual, has ever been paid such distinction and deference.

"Many have asked why Manuel L. Quezon has such personality. The answer is that he has a large nature and a big heart that opens itself fully to anyone that captures his confidence. Men of small spirit and small natures need not even try to understand him. To such men a Manuel L. Quezon is an enigma—a closed book."

SENATOR ELPIDIO QUIRINO:

"He is the warmest friend any one can find. If he really likes you he tells you so and he means it. And because he likes you, he tells you outright whether you are right or wrong no matter if it hurts.

"As a public official he is courageous and clean-cut. He has a keen foresight. His highly developed application of the human nature has helped him in the solution of many important national questions.

"As a leader, you can fully trust him. He never bargains for a principle. He gives every one an opportunity to be heard or even to express disapproval of his policies.

"As an enemy, he is open, determined, but easily won over when convinced of his error. He is noble and kind-hearted and is never spiteful.

"As a resident commissioner, he has no peer. His work in America stands as one of the most brilliant chapters in the political history of this country. He was responsible for the enactment of the Jones Law, the present organic act of the Philippines."

ACTING SPEAKER ANTONIO DE LAS ALAS:

Antonio de las Alas, acting speaker of the house of representatives, spoke briefly but highly of the qualities of President Manuel L. Quezon as a friend, as a statesman, and as

a leader. He said that the country now more than ever needs the services of the senate head.

Follows Mr. Alas' statement: "Probably at no period of our history do we need President Quezon more than the present, when the country is facing very serious problems not only locally but also abroad.

"President Quezon's courage and leadership can be relied upon at this crucial period to guide us to the right path. As a friend he is unequalled, and as a statesman he ranks justly with the best of the world."

REPRESENTATIVE FRANCISCO VARONA:

Manuel Quezon is the Man of Destiny in Philippine history. Representative Francisco Varona, majority floor leader of the house of representatives told a **Herald** representative this morning when asked to give a statement on the occasion of Senate President Quezon's birthday.

"He has taken active, and in most cases, the principal part in all important political changes in our country. All these changes, as a matter of fact, were brought about through his efforts mainly with the supreme goal of restoring our former status as a free and independent nation.

"There was the Jones bill, for example. It is, up to this time, the most important piece of legislation which our senate head has won for his people. When former Governor General Wood sought to block our political aspirations by his reactionary policies, it took Quezon to lead the bitter fight for our vested rights. The outcome of that battle is now too well known to merit further explanation.

"Now, there is the Hawes-Cutting bill, and the impending action of the United States Congress on the measure. It is Quezon once more who is leading the campaign for freedom and directing the movement in America. Locally, we are trying to overhaul our system of government. Again, it is Quezon at the head of the movement. The Filipino people are lucky to have such a leader as their champion."

SENATOR JOSE CLARIN,**Dean of Legislators:**

"The so-called personal friends of Mr. Quezon should be classified—those who enjoy his friendship objectively, and those who enjoy his friendship subjectively.

"To the first group President Quezon is a true and sincere friend always ready to do anything in his power for them. On the other hand, the second group may be said to enjoy only the president's platonic friendship and cannot therefore consider themselves in the same class as the first group.

"As a public official, I have always seen him on top of the heap and this has made him a national leader.

"As national leader, besides his personal magnetism, Mr. Quezon has always had the courage of his convictions under every circumstances and this is why he has the full confidence of his followers and the respect of his adversaries.

"Everything I have said about him as a friend can also be said of him as an enemy."

DR. HILARY CLAPP, Igorot Member,**House of Representatives:**

"Speaking for the inarticulate inhabitants of the Mountain and other backward regions of the Philippines, I wish to say on the occasion of the observance of the 54th anniversary of the birthday of the Senate President Quezon that today more than ever before we need a man of the qualities of our foremost leader—one who can rise, as he does, above party and sectional prejudices and always endeavor to achieve for the entire people greater progress, prosperity and happiness.

President Quezon's leadership means much to us, to the people of the region, which I represent. It is itself an assurance that our people shall not be given the consideration that their problems deserve. Years ago we had often wondered whether there was any among our leaders who could

lay aside even only for a while their concern for their respective districts to heed the inarticulate voice that comes from the mountains.

"We had often felt anxious and at times sullen and desperate. Out of my personal experience and knowledge I can say however we need no longer worry. We find in President Quezon the leader, the statesman and the friend to whom to bring our problems and from whom we can at least be assured of a ready hearing and a sympathetic effort to understand and to help us."

DR. ANTONIO SISON,

Personal Physician of President Quezon:

"President Quezon's state of health has considerably improved and I can say that he is now almost his former self. He is well enough to work, but the whole trouble lies in the fact that he does not only work, but he overworks.

"Frequently he holds meetings, attends conferences even as late as 2 o'clock in the afternoon without taking his luncheon. Working without lunch as late as 2 o'clock in the afternoon is bad enough for any strong man and you can just figure out what it can do to the President's delicate health.

"It is not that he ignores his physician's orders. At least he never means to, but when engrossed in his work, he forgets all about his health. Last week the President had to leave for Baguio to recuperate because of an attack of influenza. After contracting the illness his fever had not yet entirely subsided when he was already receiving visitors and foregoing what the doctors prescribed for him because he had to attend to them. He did not have a relapse, thanks to his still strong recuperating power, but it was necessary for him to go somewhere for complete rest."

RUPERTO S. CRISTOBAL, President,

Labor Congress:

"We are counting each and all of us, we who form the big group of laborers in the Philippines, as among those who

are heartily and happily congratulating the revered President of the Senate, Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, on the felicitous occasion of his 54th birthday. We consider President Quezon as the best inspiration and example to every Filipino who is fully determined to serve his country and his people, because he can ably handle the difficult and opposite tasks of leading and of being led.

"During his varied and indefatigable labors for his country from the time he made his first leap to national politics as a representative of Tayabas, then as resident commissioner of the Philippines to Washington, D.C., and lastly as President of the Senate these many years he has fully shown that he is not only an able politician but also a sagacious leader who has the best interests of the working mass at heart. He was the first to arouse a sentiment for the working mass when he enunciated the historical and unforgettable way to 'awaken the Filipino youth' so that they may face the realities and develop the natural resources of our country. All the important labor laws have come from his unselfish dreams and visions, and if some of those enacted laws were not personally introduced by him, it was through his learned advice and suggestions that they had come to be passed.

"In all labor movements and activities, his name stands out in bold relief as a courageous leader and a stout advocate. I was a humble witness to the great work he has done for the amelioration of the heart-breaking conditions of Filipinos presently living in Hawaii, and how he worked hard to find the best ways and means to save them from the clutches of hunger and death. I was also a witness to his magnanimous labors to give laborers their own seats of honor in the highest executive body of the government—the Cabinet and the Council of State—which have been the subject of petty bickerings among labor leaders during these last days.

"If there had been trivial dissensions and divisions among the working masses, those have not been brought about by the actions of the President of the Senate, but rather by the misunderstandings among some labor leaders who had not

fully understood and realized the well-meaning labor desires of President Quezon.

"To the unselfish and sacrificing labors of President Quezon to help our working masses by all means and in all ways, from passing legislations for their good to helping personally these sons of toil, may all the labor leaders of the country be united in offering their felicitations on the occasion of his birthday anniversary. May he enjoy a sweeter and longer life so the country and the government may be more benefited by his sagacious and unselfish services."

FRANCISCO ZAMORA, Secretary to the Speaker:

"President Quezon is a man with a heart of gold. I found that out during the time when I was his secretary and all the years thereafter. If you are his friend, you can count on him, provided you do not abuse his friendship. He is frank enough to place you where you belong if you abuse his confidence."

WE DO NOT GATHER HERE TO GRIEVE *

By Manuel A. Roxas

WE DO NOT GATHER here to grieve or weep. Time has stanchd our tears. The sorrow now in our hearts is not alone for him who lies in blissful sleep before us, but also for ourselves, the living, who yearn still for the strength and comfort of his presence.

This was a man whom we loved with all devotion; this was a man whom we honored with all the gifts at our command. Today we pay formal tribute to his mortal remains. Today our nation, the Republic of the Philippines, enshrines him as a hero on the altar of our love and gratitude.

Manuel L. Quezon has at last returned to his native land. For him, it has been a long voyage home. But as he prepares to yield his body to the good earth which first nurtured him, we know that we will not inter, we cannot inter, the essence of his being. That essence is as much a part of us as the free air we breathe. We are a free people and a free nation, in large part, because of him. This Republic, its Government and its institutions are as much his works as they could be of any single man. These are his perpetual monument. Across the trackless and virgin territory of time, Manuel Quezon's wisdom led the way, through four critical decades, through two great world wars, to victory and finally to independence.

The entire world is similarly in his debt. To him it owes a portion of that flaming spirit of leadership which guided mankind through the valley of evil and darkness to salvation and redemption. In this larger sense, we cannot claim him for ourselves alone. His death took both a father from his country and a leader from the world. The

* Address delivered before the Joint Session of the Congress of the Philippines on July 28, 1946. Reprinted from *Papers, Addresses and Other Writings of Manuel A. Roxas* (Manila, 1954), pp. 157-165.

pain of loss is felt wherever men are free. In our sorrow we are one with all mankind.

The sad bugle notes of death sounded for Manuel Quezon even as the forces of world freedom gathered for their final forward thrust. The critical battles had been fought; his work was done. His strife had ended. Victory lay soon ahead. But the leader of his people, the captain of our hosts was not to see the moment of triumph. In an alien but spiritually native land, in the land where he had helped arouse the legions of redemption, he died. On the beautiful wooded shores of Lake Saranac in New York, heartland of the nation he had learned to love second only to his own, the great soul which had clung so long to a frail and hard-spent body, joined the immortals of all ages.

Perhaps the Almighty, in His surpassing goodness, saw fit to claim the life of Manuel Quezon, after his great work was ended, that he might be spared the trial and pain of seeing the cost his countrymen were to pay for liberty. Perhaps the Divine Mercy was extended that he might one day return home in glory, beloved and mourned, but blissfully blind to the scars of ruin spread across this grotto of tropic beauty, the land whose grace and charm he loved so well.

In this critical epoch, he was the first of the mighty leaders of liberty to pass from the world scene. Eight brief months later, Manuel Quezon's great and good friend, Franklin D. Roosevelt, joined him in death, on the very eve of those final triumphs which brought peace to mankind. But Franklin Roosevelt lived long enough to see the redemption of the pledges he had made to the Filipino people, to see MacArthur's men return in irresistible power to wrest Manila and the Philippines from the enemy. From Franklin Roosevelt, from that weary body, too, the mantle of life slipped away.

These two men, fast and devoted friends, had ascended beyond the limits of race and nation and reached the blinding heights of universality. . . one an American, one a Filipino. They were of the chosen race of benefactors of mankind.

It is difficult to evaluate the works of Manuel Quezon at this short space from death, because all of our present is in a sense a product of his past. The record of that past is a continuous canvas of our history in this century. In recalling his life, we recall the story of the modern growth of our nation. His climb to fame and leadership is a tale which be told to all our generations. The impetuous spirit which broke the bonds of personal poverty, which hurdled every obstacle because there was none great enough to stay him, is one of the proudest products of our race. His name is truly a glittering ornament of this nation.

In Baler, that storied seacoast town of Tayabas, steeped in historic lore and crossed by all the currents of his time, Manuel Quezon grew to manhood in the typical atmosphere of the Spanish era. His rebellious soul declined to bear the indignities of alien rule and national inferiority. Scholarly in spirit, hungry for knowledge, and ambitious, yet he bridled angrily at the plight of his people. With the frank eyes of youth, he learned to distinguish the dignity of worth from the trappings of authority. Although bound to inaction by parental pledge, he was spiritually one with Rizal, with Bonifacio, with Del Pilar, and the other great patriots of that day. When the armies of revolution took the field in 1898, he was quick to join the struggle for liberty. When the antagonist became not Spain but America, when it was feared that the Republic across the seas came but to replace the former tyrant, Quezon fought while there was yet hope, and in the jungles of Bataan suffered privations and dangers which years later he had new occasion to know. But it was not until American deeds and American policies had received the basic doubts in the questioning mind of Major Quezon that he obeyed his orders to surrender.

Suddenly clapped into an American military prison and held without charge for four long months, and then as suddenly released, Manuel Quezon was not conditioned to trust or love the new rulers of his land. The more credit to him, then, and to America, that in the vista he observed in the following years he comprehended in the detail of events the

firm pattern of basic benevolence; he saw imported from America not only economic goods for sale but the priceless wares of liberty, of justice and of democracy. He saw American soldiers build hospitals and roads and bridges. He saw schools spring up, and Americans teaching the ways of freedom in them. He saw American judges dispense the law impartially between American and Filipino. He perceived the cult of fair play being preached and practiced by the conqueror. He heard from an American Civil Governor William Howard Taft, that the Philippines were to be governed for the benefit of the Filipinos. A former revolutionist, Quezon was named prosecutor, then Governor of his proud province.

Elected to the first Philippine Assembly, an avowed advocate of immediate and absolute independence, Manuel Quezon revealed for the first time the great talents endowed him. . . the lightning speed of thought, the brilliance of intuition, the unerring judgment of decision, the unswerving devotion to principle and ideal, and the keen incisiveness which enabled him to distinguish between truth and illusion, between appearance and reality, between honesty and pretense. These were the faculties in rare and multifold combination which marked Manuel Quezon for the role of leadership among his people.

In 1912, having already spent some years in the United States Congress as Resident Commissioner and having mastered for his purpose the American language, he helped secure from the Democratic Party a firm pledge of Philippine independence. By a scholarly presentation of the Philippine position, he won President-elect Woodrow Wilson to his side, and through personal persuasion, gained the interest and intercession of Representative Jones of Virginia. The historic product of those labors was the Jones Act of 1916 which promised to the great wonder of the world, independence to the Philippines as soon as the Filipinos were ready to govern themselves.

In the blazing glory of that accomplishment, Manuel Quezon returned to his homeland to receive a hero's welcome

such as few have ever witnessed. In triumph he was elevated to the supreme leadership of his party and of his people, a leadership he never lost in the 22 remaining years of his life. Seldom if ever has one man attained such power and influence among his people and held it unchecked for so long. Yet it was not power held through force or intimidation; there was no Gestapo to retain him in his rule. It was a leadership exercised by the prestige of his person, by the stature of his accomplishments, by the dominating proportions of his talents, and by the unswerving loyalty of his followers. Few men in all history, unclothed in the purple of royalty, have equalled Manuel Quezon's tenure as a people's leader. It has no counterpart anywhere in the world in our time. How did he use this authority, this power, this influence? That is the statesman's test, perhaps the answer to his greatness. He used it mildly, carefully and skillfully in the interests of his people, in the interests not of vested wealth which sought his favor, not of the socially elite who courted him, but in the interests of the great trusting mass of people, inarticulate, plain and poor. To them he was devoted. For them he was a spokesman and a champion. In their name he espoused, against the opposition of entrenched wealth and power, the cause of social justice. We, today, carry forward with renewed and steadfast resolve the program he so nobly advanced. . . the struggle against the inhumanity of man to man. We pledge in his name that we will not falter on the path he blazed so well.

He feared no man; often he dared defeat; he was unimpressed by danger. Quick in his anger, and quick to forgive, warmly loving and cordially hating, enjoying ease, yet indefatigable in labor, stern and soft by speedy turn, sentimental yet realistic, the unquestioned master of the spoken word, loving people so much that he hated solitude—this was the man behind the statesman. This was the sum of things which added up to that magic and unforgettable personality. This was the presence which inspired his followers, which awed or won over his enemies, which impressed presidents and kings, which delighted friends, which made him the

tender husband and the loving father that he was throughout his life.

Manuel Quezon was no ordinary man. He was beloved by Providence. In his later political career, his decisions were occasionally inscrutable, but almost always right. Through the flat decade of the twenties, when the vessel of independence was becalmed in a sluggish sea, he kept up the flagging will of his countrymen, continued to beat the drums of freedom, and never once lost sight of his goal.

As the tempo of events quickened in the world, Manuel Quezon was ready. With enthusiasm undimmed by a quarter century of public life, with energy apparently undiminished by the drain of the dread illness which was so common among our people, he plunged into the crisis of his lifelong battle for independence. That battle, too, he won.

It was in 1935 when an exulting people voiced an overwhelming will that Manuel Quezon be the first President of the Philippines. It seemed that he had reached the high plateau of his career. He toyed indulgently with the thought of retiring at the end of his term in office, to tend his health, to take his ease, to travel, to spend his reclining years in the warm and comforting circle of a devoted and cherished family.

In his first historic term, he set the new Commonwealth well on the road to freedom. He obtained from President Roosevelt a pledge of special economic concessions after independence. He dreamed and designed the construction of a magnificent capital city, the crowning jewel of the fame that was to outlast him. He made a goodwill trip to Cuba and to Mexico, and in accents which rang clear in those lands, he told of his faith in America, in democracy, and in world unity.

Then, from a narrow strip of land called the Polish Corridor, there burst the lightning of war. Guns grew louder; throughout Europe freedom was vanquished; a new tyranny ran rampant over the ancient seats of western civilization. In the Orient, deep out of the north China Sea, there rose

the menacing clouds of war. Closer and closer they drew to the Philippines, still only a mark in the sky, but to the wise and practiced eye of Manuel Quezon, they tokened danger.

The time for retirement of the leader was not yet come. This new danger had to be met. In the United States, ideologically pledged to the support of the western allies, Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected for an unprecedented third term. In the Philippines Manuel Quezon was chosen for his second. In the few remaining lands of freedom and peace, men girded their loins for battle. Our leader called on his countrymen to rally without question to the cause to which the United States was pledged—the sacred cause for which he had fought all his life, for justice and liberty. The youth who had fought America with desperate fury in 1898, poured out his eloquence and spent his magnificent spirit in support of that nation now.

The rest of the story of Manuel Quezon is the history of Philippine participation in the war. When the mailed fist of Japan struck without warning, first at Pearl Harbor and then at Manila, Quezon's choice was already made. It was not an easy choice. It was a choice previously faced by Norway, Denmark, Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, Siam, and Malaya. It was a choice between resisting for the sake of principle, or yielding for the sake of relative safety. Not all these nations made the same choice. At that time the issue on which hung the future of the world was in grave doubt. The forces of evil were on the march; there were many men of impartial mind who thought the age of barbarism had already won. But the lion heart of Manuel Quezon would admit neither doubt nor despair. He threw, not without question but without hesitation, the force of eighteen million Filipinos into the struggle on the side of right, on the side of the United States. In a major sense, of course, Manuel Quezon's choice was gathered from the hearts of his people. There was no question in their minds. There was no unwillingness on their part. The die was cast. And when the time came, when he was asked to leave his beloved land, and to wage the fight from afar, he acceded, but with painful sor-

row. His heart ached at the thought of leaving his people to face their fate alone. First from Australia and then from Washington, he urged his countrymen to resist, to keep high their hopes, to maintain intact their faith in the eventual triumph of liberty.

He plunged with all his heart and soul into his new task. . . on the one hand as supreme leader of the forces of resistance, and on the other as the eloquent advocate, for the gathering and launching of the offensive against Japan, for the rescue of our people from their brutal bondage.

The flickering flame of physical vitality burned lower now that he was drawing from unseen reserves the last elements of energy for his final work. The fragile body which supported with so much strain the explosive energy of a dynamic mind served its fatal warning. But death was no stranger to Manuel Quezon. Often it had beckoned, never perched far distant from him. The sultry veil which those who live call death because they cannot see beyond it, drew closer to him. Still he fought it, refused it. But as to all, even so to Manuel Quezon, death finally came. The essential task accomplished, his glorious achievements lying in brilliant array behind him, the great soul, with the strong surge of the upward flying eagle, wrenched itself from its mortal house. This life was ended.

The American nation and the American people mourned him as one of their own. The leaders of state of many lands paid him tribute. The muffled drums which sounded as the funeral cortege wound its way through Arlington National Cemetery reverberated across distant waters. They were heard in the Philippines, and the millions here wept in unison.

I remember that day. I was at morning mass in the House of God when the tragic news was spread. Choked with grief, I prayed with all my heart for the repose of his soul, for the solace of his widow and his children, for the salvation of our people, smitten anew with this irreparable loss.

Now the storm and terror of the recent past are ended. The dark and angry clouds which long enveloped us are rolling away. The golden fingers of the new day's light rest with healing touch upon the pain and wounds which this, our people suffered. Strong and willing hands rebuild that which is destroyed. This rich, kind earth renews itself; the blossoms of tomorrow will hide the scars of yesterday.

Now the body of our leader returns to rest. From the voiceless lips of the unreplying dead come reassurance, courage and hope. The spirit of Manuel Quezon which never left us, soothes with gentle balm our heavy sorrow. In the Night of Death in which he dwells, our love can hear the rustle of a wing, and the seraphic song of angels to lull our grief, to give us strength, to bring us peace. Let there then be peace, too, for Manuel Quezon; for now he belongs to the ages. May the causes for which he lived and in whose names he died . . . Liberty, Justice and Democracy. . . exult in eternal triumph!

MANUEL L. QUEZON *

In Memoriam

By Sergio Osmeña

ONE YEAR AGO TODAY, at Saranac Lake in the State of New York, Manuel L. Quezon, first President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, passed to a better life. It was his sad lot not to have seen his people rescued from the clutches of the enemy, but there could be no doubt in his mind that their liberation towards which he had bent all his energy would not be long in coming, as in fact it came. Not only this. He knew also that, once freed from the Japanese, his people would have no more fear of the future because the independence to which he had given the best years of his life would finally be established under the protecting wings of the United States.

President Quezon rendered many signal services to his country in various high positions: as a provincial executive in Tayabas in his younger days, as the Majority Floor Leader in the first Philippine Assembly, as Resident Commissioner in Washington, as head of the Philippine Senate, and lastly, as President of the Commonwealth. But none of these services, brilliant as they were, can excel, in point of permanent benefit to his people, the achievements of his administration as our War President in the United States.

From the outbreak of the war in the Philippines in December, 1941, the question that taxes his mind most was whether, as Chief Executive, it was not his duty to remain at the side of his people and share their fate. Not until after prolonged and painful deliberations did he finally decide to separate from his people temporarily and accept the invitation of President Roosevelt to establish his government in Washington. This decision was not only the wise and patriotic

* Address delivered on the occasion of the first anniversary of the death of President Manuel L. Quezon on August 1, 1945. Reprinted from A Department of Instruction and Information Publication (Manila, 1945).

thing to do, but the only thing to do under the circumstances. And thus it was that, after repeated consultations with his associates in the government, first in Marikina before departing from Manila, and later in Corregidor, in Negros and in Mindanao, he finally resolved to go.

Why were his associates so unanimously of the opinion that he should leave the Philippines under those circumstances? Firstly, it was their conviction that nothing further could be done to prevent the invasion and eventual occupation of the Philippines. Secondly, it was clear to them that in order to be sustained and successful the resistance movement had to be directed from outside the orbit of enemy control. And thirdly, it was apparent in the light of international law and military possibilities that the independence of the Philippines could come only from the United States, and that, obviously, the United States was the only place where we could continue the work of establishing that independence.

The suggestion made somewhere that President Quezon should not have left the Philippines to prove his willingness to share the fate of his people, is a sentimental argument of very dangerous implications. Subjected to the ruthless will of the conqueror, President Quezon would have been unjustly placed in a position where he either had to refuse to cooperate and perhaps meet the tragic fate of Jose Abad Santos—a loss which the country could not afford—or submit to the enemy and head the list of puppet officials. It is my firm belief that President Quezon would have preferred death to service under the hated enemy. But supposing that, instead of continuing his role as leader of the Resistance, he had chosen to be an instrument in the execution of Japan's sinister designs, then he would have inflicted the cause of the Philippines in the United States an injury beyond repair.

By virtue of his official position as head of the nation, and by his positive acts and unequivocal pronouncements before the war, President Quezon had to be, as indeed he was, the logical and supreme leader of our national resist-

ance. In the Philippines as well as in America he was until his death the symbol of Filipino aspiration for freedom and independence. Our people in general, and our soldiers and guerrilleros in particular, accepted his leadership and backed it to the limit. Thus inspired by the gallant stand of his countrymen, before and after the fall of Bataan, President Quezon could make but one decision: place himself beyond the enemy's reach and work in the United States for the prompt redemption of the Philippines and the early realization of its independence. By this decision our late President demonstrated both personal courage and a spirit of sacrifice hard to equal. He had been a sick man several years before the outbreak of the war, and for many months prior to 1941 he had had to absent himself from office at the insistence of his physicians. Notwithstanding these handicaps, he travelled by airplane and by submarine—two means of transport to which he had the strongest aversion—in order to escape from the invader and be able to maintain in America the integrity of our constitutional government.

The events are too recent to require a detailed recital. Suffice it to say that, under the leadership of President Quezon, the Government of the Commonwealth functioned in Washington not only with the recognition of the United States, but of the other nations with which America is allied in this war. The Commonwealth, in a word, acquired an advanced political status because, anticipating the promised recognition of our independence, the American Government had taken the steps to invest us with international personality. President Quezon was privileged to sign the United Nations Declaration as if he represented an already independent nation. We were admitted to membership in the United Nations, and we were accorded a seat in the Pacific War Council. As a result of his contacts with the Government in Washington, his repeated conferences with President Roosevelt, and his impassioned speeches in and outside the Congress, he was able to focus the interest of the people of the United States on the problems of the Pacific, an interest which, before his arrival in Washington, had been centered in the European front, the front to which the resources of

America were already committed. And thus it was that, even before the surrender of Germany, the problem of the reconquest of the Philippines was brought to the fore and General MacArthur was able to return to Philippine soil to wage his brilliant campaign of liberation, earlier than originally anticipated. The success of American arms, ably assisted by the long suffering Filipino guerrillas and civilian volunteers, is a monument to the vision and faith of President Quezon.

But the greatest achievement of the Quezon Administration in Washington, one that excels any in this great leader's long record of struggle for our independence, is the enactment by the American Congress on June 29, 1944, of the legislation providing for the establishment of bases in Philippine territory for the mutual protection of the United States and the Philippines and the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. The advantage of the security which this law known as Joint Resolution 93 provides for our independent existence and national integrity cannot be over-emphasized. As far as human foresight can reach, this protection insures for our present and future generations the peaceful enjoyment of the blessings of independence. If President Quezon, in his long and fruitful career, had done nothing more than this, it would already assure him of an imperishable place in our history and list him, besides, among mankind's great benefactors as one of the architects of that permanent universal peace so eagerly, patiently and wisely sought by the United Nations after the bitter experience of this war.

As soon as the exigencies of the war should permit it—and I believe that that will be soon—the mortal remains of our beloved President will be brought to our soil that they may rest eternally in the bosom of his country. How much he would have loved to see again the dear and familiar silhouette of our mountains even if, as he used to say shortly before his death, he had to close his eyes after and forever.

He will not return to us again, as he used to, from his foreign travels in the triumphal days of his prodigious career—vigorous and overflowing with patriotic ardor for the cause of causes, the cause of the liberty of his people. His

fighting days are over. But now the nation is ready to accord him a greater tribute of love and admiration. As with Rizal, Bonifacio, Mabini and our other national heroes, we will erect him a monument worthy of his glory. The popular gratitude will manifest itself in numberless other ways, for such is the way our people—always ready to recognize those who have served them ably and well. The Filipino nation is not an ungrateful nation: it is great, noble and magnanimous, and never yet has it failed to give recognition and recompense wherever these are due.

And because such is the character of our people, their expressions of gratitude, I am sure, will not be limited to their late beloved leader, but will be extended as well to his loved ones, in particular to that noble and self-sacrificing partner of his life who shared with him not only his triumphs and glories but also his disappointments and sufferings. I believe I am faithfully interpreting the sentiment of our people when I say that it is our duty to assign to Madame Quezon a life pension in keeping with her state and commensurate with her circumstances. It is my purpose to make a recommendation to this effect to the Congress in the coming special session, in line with the practice in the United States of pensioning the widows of America's Presidents. And after we have done all this, we shall have only partly settled the debt of gratitude that we shall forever owe that great and noble Statesman—Manuel L. Quezon.

BEFORE THE MORTAL REMAINS OF MANUEL L. QUEZON *

By Claro M. Recto

Our lives are rivers
Winding to the sea
Which is our death;
There go all earthly power
Straightway and to be
Consumed in death.

THESE IMMORTAL LINES from the poet-philosopher effortlessly come to mind as we view the last remains of Manuel Luis Quezon, that paladin of patriots who consecrated his privileged mind and his passion for liberty to the cause of his people's honor and welfare; that modern argonaut who after a hazardous quest acquired the golden fleece of power and glory to offer it to his country, the cherished lady of his dreams; that fine and gallant spirit, like a cardinal of the renaissance, who in the same manner drank to the lees of the cup of life, that in mystic paroxysms confided the pain and grief of his soul to the God of all mercies.

"Our lives are rivers winding to the sea which is death." But the river of that fully rounded life did not wind up to the sea of death, to confound its richly laden waters with those of other streams, baser and unknown, in the common reservoir of oblivion and definitive nothingness. No. Farther and beyond death, beyond the end of that journey from which no traveller returns, life reasserts its rights signing a compact with immortality when it has been lived in its full plenitude for the attainment of the ends of an elevated calling. And so much so that Fame rendered tribute to Manuel Luis Quezon carving for him a niche in the pantheon of the elect, for the glory of his country, the lodestar, inspiration, and pattern for future generations.

* Oration delivered in Spanish at the necrological services held at the U.S.T. Chapel on July 29, 1948. Reprinted from the **Administration Magazine**, August 1948, pp. 8-10.

Providence, in its inscrutable designs, set aside for Manuel Luis Quezon a land for his birth and a peculiar medium in which to live and develop to fulfill the predetermined mandate of destiny.

It was not through the workings of mere chance that the Philippines became his native land in which at the time when he first saw the light of day an interdict of centuries weighed heavily upon the riches of the spirit and the treasures of the soil. It was not a casual act that since the days of his infancy his soul was stamped with the seal which was to distinguish him as consummate example of human grandeur—not the soft and lethal breezes of conformity with the then existing state of things, but the vivifying gusts of rebellion which were then beginning to shake the foundations of the old colonial system.

Nor was it a mere caprice of fate that Manuel Luis Quezon should reach adolescence when the tempest of the revolution, unleashed by the teachings of Rizal and Del Pilar, was roaring through the length and breadth of the archipelago, while the bolo of Bonifacio was projecting effulgent flames over the horizon and the cry of Balintawak echoed and re-echoed over hill and mountain bringing to the last cottage its message of redemption.

And finally, it was not in vain, that yielding in its infancy, to the torrent of a superior force, that first Republic which he himself had contributed to establish while fighting in the liberating forces of Aguinaldo, loyal to its ideals and faithful to the voice of its destiny, Manuel Luis Quezon, with Sergio Osmeña and other young patriots plunged once again into the field of battle exchanging the soldier's gun with the oratory and the pen of the statesman, to save the country's honor from chaos and the ignominy of defeat, redeeming for all time from oblivion, from desertion, and from complete abandonment the sacrosanct ideal of the revolution in order to keep it waving on high as the standard of liberty, a pledge of self-esteem and a symbol of protest against foreign domination.

If Manuel Luis Quezon had been under other skies, if the various periods which called for the overflow of the wealth of his energy and to inflame the fervor of his patriotism had been different, if he had not been the eminent leader that he was of his country, his name would not be now and forever like those of Rizal, Washington, Bolivar and Kosciusku, symbol and token of all the oppressed races that aspire and fight, that live and die for liberty.

Like any one that comes upon the world emblazoned on the forehead with the sign of the elect, as a man who is born predestined to lead and to guide men and nations, Manuel L. Quezon received from the Supreme Dispenser of gifts the priceless boon of clear and quick perception of the reason and philosophy of all things. The psychology of individuals and of groups did not hold any secrets for his penetrating intelligence, and for that reason his powers for proselytizing were immense and irresistible. He was, in truth, a highly inspired being and what others came to understand through meditation and study he perceived by mere intuition. The great projects and creative ideas, the interpretation of contemporary events and the intentions of men—foes and friends alike—were revealed to him as if upon his head had descended the golden flame of the Paraclete.

He exercised his rights as a man in the fullest concept of the term; in spirit and matter. Conscious of the duality of his own nature, he gave unto clay what properly belonged to clay and to the soul that which was the patrimony of the soul. He loved everything that was worth loving, sublimating everything which he considered the epitome of all loves on earth: love of country. And because his soul was pregnant with the restlessness of the century and as he was communicating to his age and generation his own restless spirit, and because his heart was the magnetic pole in which converged the people's anxieties and fears, he infused all his acts with that inextinguishable passion of spirit, that indomitable firmness of will, which made of his life an eternal adolescence and one continuous battle for the most beautiful and the most sublime ideals, at times for the glory and the exultation of

triumph, at others for the mere necessity of fighting, searching for difficulties that did not manifest themselves on his way, in order to give himself the satisfaction of overcoming them; but at all times for the possession and attainment of that supreme good which was the pure and constant yearning of his heart: the honor and happiness of his people.

He felt as no one of his compatriots felt the pride of being a Filipino and calling himself a Filipino when in the midst of cosmopolitan groups, which were most incurably afflicted by prejudice born of what they claimed their racial superiority. And he has left us the lesson and the example of that virtuous pride, which is not the arrogance of the bull frog of the fable, but a manifestation of the total absence of even the minutest trace of servility and adulation in our conduct, and the serene dignity founded on the conviction that there are no superior races nor inferior peoples, but only degrees of culture and periods of civilization, that some advance or retreat or remain stagnant in accordance with conditions that the political medium offers, and that as we have produced a Rizal, a Del Pilar, a Luna, a Mabini, a Quezon, an Arellano, an Anacleto del Rosario and other magnificent examples of human greatness, in the arts, in the sciences, in politics, and in law, in the same manner we shall arrive at that stage where other nations have already arrived if from now on we become conscious that we are a nation and we have a high destiny to fulfill, and that our advancement shall not be attained only through foreign benevolence but because of our own efforts, our confidence in ourselves, and our faith and hope in a brighter future.

Manuel Luis Quezon quested for the flatteries of glory, because the possessor of the habiliments of power loved earthly pomp and grandeur, but whoever believes that his motive was only to satisfy his personal vanity would be completely mistaken. All that was the external means, the aura of splendor, the dazzling apotheosis, with which he had to surround himself in order to adapt himself to his environment and to prepare properly the scene for his actions. The joust was held in that century, and among men of that cen-

tury, for the attainment of human objectives and in such a tournament, the knight could not present himself clothed in the rags of the penitent and reciting chapters from Ecclesiasticus.

The struggles which in the United States Manuel Luis Quezon fought for our independence constitute one of the greatest epics in the history of all nations for the consummation of their liberty. He fought using his voice and his pen in the halls of Congress, in the party conventions, in conference halls, in newspaper columns, in popular assemblies, in offices of political personages, and even in women's boudoirs. He formed his circle of friends and enthusiastic admirers around him, enlisting them in his noble and patriotic crusade, and he lived with pomp and circumstance of an Oriental prince, and he made himself the arbiter of elegance that the world might see in him and not in the savage scantily covered with breechclouts the personification of the country which he represented. And thus under the witchery of his personality and the magic of his word, appeared one after another those historical landmarks which signified the progress of our pilgrimage to our Promised Land: first, the independence provisions in the platforms of political parties; then the Autonomy act in 1916; much later in 1934 the Independence Act, the Constitution of the Commonwealth; and finally the Republic which on the fourth of July of the present year was born and became part and parcel of the international comity of nations.

Manuel Luis Quezon left traces of his life upon that road of hazard and glory even to the extent of dying far from his native soil without seeing the end of the conflict which had cast him to distant shores, without attaining the greatest prize which he might have desired for himself: to behold, while his heart was being drowned in a turbulent sea of emotions, how his country's flag was hoisted majestically to wave free and sovereign in the sky, its sun and three stars more effulgent than those in the very firmament, sheltering in its folds the eternal yearnings of a people expressed in the im-

mortal verses of our national anthem: "Ne'er shall invaders trample thy sacred shores. . . ."

What a poignant pain, what an oppressive anguish must have assailed Manuel Luis Quezon when he failed to see the realization of his dreams, that which we all cherish and which Rizal immortalized in his verses—to die under the skies of our country, where the hours are sweet and where death is most pleasant! What rejoicing must be felt by his spirit now when he sees from the serene precincts in which he now rests that his mortal flesh shall sleep in the enchanted land the sleep of eternity!

The eminent leader returns to receive from this land of his affections the esteem and devotion of his compatriots. But he sees only pictures of desolation, of death and misery: the population decimated by the war, the coffers of the state in bankruptcy, the trade and commerce in alien hands, the agricultural fields lying fallow, the industries destroyed, peace and order disturbed, the patrimony of our children menaced, the national unity destroyed, the entire nation divided between Tyrians and Trojans, the ancient virtues in complete bankruptcy and as the Dapitan exile had said, "the home destroyed, the faith sold to others, and ruins all around. . . ."

Noble leader, may you rest in the peace of your sepulcher, and may you never be disturbed by the spectacle of so many moral ills and so much physical misery which now afflict us—sordid derelicts of the flood that followed the last tempest which imperialist nations unleashed upon our soil. We are reputed to be a nation of heroes but the entire nation is one vast necropolis. We have been liberated but our cities and towns have been left in shambles. We are independent, but we are beggars for alien favors; we are citizens of a republic but we are still characterized by the habits and mentality of colonial peoples. To speak of Bataan is to speak of glory, loyalty and heroism, of the disappointment over vaunted altruism and the promises that were never fulfilled. Our dwellings are in deep mourning but not only because of the war dead but because of those who are still living. And total disenchantment gnaws at our hearts and

beclouds our intelligence in the face of the serious affairs of our generation and the urgent questionings regarding the future to which we cannot find an adequate answer.

Manuel Luis Quezon, architect of our liberty and father of our people: "This world is the pathway to the other which is the abode free from cares," but while we tread upon it we pray to God to give us your faith, your passion and your courage, that we may feel the same sacred pride that you felt with respect to your country, and your race, that we may love one another in the face of the bitter animosities of humanity; that our leader of the present in whom we established and recognized the highest possible glory of our generation, to whom with justice you have given the legacy of your genius and whom you regarded as the most worthy among your successors to carry on your noble task, may lead us along the right path that we must follow through all the crises confronting us; and that our independence and our Republic, more than in the law and official proclamations, more than in the rhetoric of banquets may live with genuinely pulsating graces in our conscience and our conduct, in the conscience and conduct of others, to the end that our martyrs may not be compelled to return to this earth to sacrifice their lives anew.

Manuel Luis Quezon! It matters not that your mortal remains now rest beneath the soil! Your people will not seek for you among the dead! You live even in death!

HE DID MUCH FOR COUNTRY*

By Pacifico A. Ortiz, S.J.

TO HIS DYING DAY this was his cherished dream: to come back to the Philippines and to see her free. He is back with us at last—back from his last, his finest mission—back to be gathered to us and to our forefathers forever. That he was a patriot and a leader, no one can deny. But I am sure I speak for every Filipino when I say that in our hearts there is more than mourning for the passing of a leader, there is a deep sense of personal loss for the passing of a well-loved friend.

This is the true test of greatness: when people love you, not for what you can do for them, but for what you are. President Quezon did much for our country, did more perhaps than any other man, living or dead. That alone would make him our hero, but it takes more than that to make him our friend. It takes more than that to make us feel, as we do feel today, a deep sense of personal loss. It was the man himself that we loved, the man with a heart so generous, so loyal, so forgiving; the man with a spirit so noble, so fearless, so magnificent. Not that he possessed no faults or failures. He had a human share of them. But he was brave enough to admit it. There was nothing sham or shallow about this man. You could see the depths of his soul through his eyes, and you knew exactly how you stood with him.

In the shifting world of politics, he held fast to a strange code of honor. He was consistently attacked by his political opponents. He was consistently accused of every sort of crime and failure under the sun. He always enjoyed a good fight—but he fought clean. He never threw back mud and derision at anyone. He was a plumed knight. Such was his regard for his fellowman.

* Oration delivered at the U.S.T. Chapel on August 1, 1946. Reprinted from the Quezon Memorial Book, pp. 126-129.

It was perhaps this trait that made him the undisputed leader of his people, this trait which enabled him to make friends of political foes, and turn seeming defeat into victory, this trait that united the country, as never before, under his leadership. For despite his explosive temper, there was enough Christian humility in his heart that made for meekness, and it is written: "The meek shall possess the land."

It was surely this trait—his love for his neighbor—that made him what he was: the champion of the poor, the friend of the workingman. No man has ever been blessed with more shining qualities of body and mind; no man has ever been showered with more honors and distinctions at home and abroad. But this man who walked with kings, never lost the common touch; this man whose words were listened to in the highest council of nations, never forgot his own father's parting words: "Son, be good and just to your fellowmen. No matter how high your station in life may be, never forget that you came from poor parents and that you belong to the poor."

Yes, he belonged to the poor. As a young lawyer he started his career by defending the poor freely, without charge. As a prosecuting attorney he protected the poor from the greed of the rich. Later, as President of the Commonwealth, he championed their cause—the cause of Social Justice. And his crusade for social justice was no mere lip-service, no mere vote-getting slogan. It meant action. It meant giving the peasants a chance to own a home and a piece of land they could call their own. It meant creating economic opportunities on the plains of Isabel, in the valleys of Koronadal, and all over the land. It meant fighting for a just minimum wage for the laborer. It meant preaching the gospel of work and the dignity of labor. It meant above all, building up a strong, hard-working middle class, and broadening the base of our economic structure—for he was convinced that no democracy can succeed where the few are too rich, while the many are too poor.

Today we are facing the same old problems. The war has only made them worse. But we can still solve them,

not the bloody, communist way,—not the high-handed, socialist way,—but the Christian way, the democratic way, the way so nobly raised by our departed leader; with malice toward none, with charity for all; dispensing justice to the poor and to the rich alike, to labor and to capital alike—but always holding high the battle-cry of the common man—"Human rights above property rights."

He did not live long enough to give full substance to his dream. That too often is the tragic fate of those who blaze the trail. But that too is the other test of greatness: whether one's work, one's life-dream can survive long after the dreamer is gone. In this sense also, this man was great. The noble causes for which he so gallantly spent his life: the cause of freedom, of social justice, of equality before the law, of devotion to country, this our infant Republic, this our Philippines—these things for which he fought so nobly and so well, these things will not perish with his remains. They are sparks of his eternal spirit, and they will light the way for generations yet unborn.

It is perhaps too early to pass judgment on the full stature of this man. But I am sure that as generations come and go, and the long years loom in perspective, as new men and new leaders rise up and walk the stage of history—I am sure there will be two men, forever towering above the shifting scene, twin sentinels of our destiny, unequalled peaks of Malayan grandeur; Rizal and Quezon. Rizal's death made us one, Quezon's spirit made us free. To them as to no one else, we owe what we are today—a united nation, a free nation.

As we mourn and pray over his mortal remains, it may be well for us to search into the hidden well-springs that made his life so rich, so noble, so beneficent. He loved freedom and he fought to make his country free. The secret of it all was his deeply Christian spirit. That is why in his autobiography, to imperialists who thought it was a dangerous experiment to "shoot" democracy into the fabric of Oriental minds, he could say: "you overlook the fact that more than three-hundred years before, the Spaniards did 'shoot',

and successfully, the Christian religion into the souls of the Filipinos, and that Christianity had prepared us for democracy, since Christ's teachings are indeed the essence of democratic ideals and principles."

He worked hard, he fought bravely, suffering and disease could not hold his spirit down. We wondered from what hidden source he drew strength to face the war. The secret of it all was his faith in prayer. "Ask and you shall receive, knock and it shall be opened unto you." Doubts often assailed him, and even fear, whenever he had to make the great decisions of his life. So it was when he had to leave for Corregidor. So it was when he had to leave Australia. So it was when he had to leave for America. But he always triumphed with the strength and the light from above. And he was never alone in prayer, there was his wife always, and his children—sharers of his joys and of his sorrows unto the end.

There is a glow as of eternal sunrise about the evening years of this man—the glow of Faith recaptured and re-lived. As he served Mass in the tunnels of Corregidor and in his chapel in Washington, as he received Holy Communion with his wife and children every morning, as he prayed the rosary with them when the lights were low, I wonder if ever for a moment, his mind which knew no rest, travelled back to the days of his childhood. . . Memories.

Memories!—of the boy who left Baler to face life without anything but the heritage of faith and the courage of his ancestors. Memories!—of the impetuous youth fighting in the hills of Bataan for the freedom of his people. Memories!—of the gallant speaker pleading for his country before the Congress of the United States. Memories!—of the statesman placed at the helm of the infant Commonwealth to chart and guide the destiny of his race. . . These were the memories that kept him company as he put up a gallant fight for his life. They were no empty memories. They were the warp and woof in the fabric of our history. They were the pattern of our age-old struggle. A struggle, which as he lay in bed those last fifteen months, was still an unfinished

dream. That is what made it so hard for him! But it is well for us to know that he fought the good fight unto the end, and that his last thought was for us. "Turn on the radio," he signalled to his doctor. That morning, over the radio came the news that MacArthur had landed on Sansapor, six-hundred miles from the Philippines. "Six-hundred miles" he faintly, very faintly whispered—and for a moment, joy like a dying ember sparkled in his eyes. So near and yet so far! It was too much for his old heart to bear. He had a hemorrhage—his last. Shortly after, without much suffering, comforted with all the Sacraments of the Church, he gave up his soul to God.

Any nation could be proud of such a leader. Any country would love to claim him as her own. And he is ours forever!—My Friends, as we commit his body to the land which saw his birth and which he served so well, let it be with the prayer and the resolve to carry on the work to which he devoted his life: social justice, respect for the law, national unity. And in his memory, let us strive to bind the nation's wounds, let us close ranks behind our newly chosen leader.

* Oration delivered at the historical service held at the United States Capitol on July 25, 1945. Reprinted from the *Speeches of General MacArthur*, pp. 12-13.

WE NEVER HAD A BETTER FRIEND*

By Frank Murphy

IT IS my sad but grateful errand to greet you on the occasion of the death of your beloved hero, Manuel L. Quezon. The government of the United States deeply mourns this occasion dedicated to the memory of a great man. We never had a better friend, or one who struggled harder to achieve independence and self-government for his people. He never violated his oath to the people of the United States and, in obedience to that oath, he came to our land, and perished in exile. One thing he never would tolerate would be the slightest hint of violating his oath of office. One could not say a word to add to the stature—intellectual and spiritual stature—of Manuel L. Quezon. That is an impossibility. We might as well attempt to retouch a masterpiece done by an immortal. His life should be preached from every pulpit, will be taught in the schools and colleges. Every editor will write about it. It will be known to every citizen whether in the rural areas or in the urban communities of this land he loved and for which he perished.

We cannot let the occasion go by without mentioning his history from childhood until that moment when death took him lightly by the hand. It reflects what is written in the Good Book that "life is a continuous warfare." He never knew for a moment, release from that duty of struggling for his people in order that they would achieve their goal of complete independence. We also notice this about him—that he never would tolerate for a moment the idea of his people not being the equal of any people on earth. And then something of the spirit of America went into him. My country grew to be great because people from every race or every religion came together. They could not forget it. They would not

* Oration delivered at the necrological services held at the Joint Session of the Congress of the Philippines on July 28, 1946. Reprinted from the **Quezon Memorial Book**, pp. 99-101.

be separated. That made America's might, America's greatness. Enemies, of course, hoped that that would cause disunity and division. I want to point out too that they had very few material possessions—they were the dispossessed. But they knew something of natural law. They knew that natural law was born of divine law, and so in the declaration of independence it was made clear that all peoples were equal and that they have certain rights given to them by their Creator. Cicero knew that, Aristotle knew it, Blackstone, Abraham Lincoln knew that. And so it was with Manuel L. Quezon. He prepared his people. He knew that his people under divine law were entitled to their rights, while at the same time recognizing a duty to their country. We saw his fragile body, we saw his noble wife beside him during those critical days. He never flinched for a moment. Spirits like Manuel L. Quezon's just don't die. The structure passes on but the spirit will struggle on forever.

The world, my friends, enters a new era. The hopes of man is this: that the principle of morality and justice cannot and will not fade. These principles of morality and justice must be the motivating force of our lives. They are problems that require deeper insight and a more profound instinct than that of war.

So the life of your great President for whom I had the greatest personal admiration should serve as an example to Americans and Filipinos alike. If the youth of this impoverished land were to take a faltering step, I hope they will think first of the life of Manuel L. Quezon and be reawakened to your responsibility, to your sense of industry, to your sense of tenderness and kindness that make a nation great. I hope God will keep and bless you.

MESSAGE OF GENERAL OF THE ARMY *

By Douglas MacArthur

IT IS a source of deepest regret that my duties in the occupation of Japan at this critical moment have not permitted me personally to be present reverently to pay homage at the final rites over the bier which contains the mortal remains of President Quezon. He was my dear friend of long years, and it was my privilege to share with him many of the varying conditions which have beset human life during our age. And in this tragic moment, as we close the scroll of his life and works and hearken to their profound and controlling influence upon the destiny of his people, I attest to and join in the applauding judgment of history of the path of duty he strode upon this earth.

Of all men of all time, none truly merited the appellation of patriot-statesman. Few could, as he, replace the uniform of the soldier with the mantle of statescraft, yet maintain with voice and pen in undiminished vigor the crusading fight in the self-same cause for which he had fought by the violence of arms.

Throughout his long years of public service, never did he compromise the principle which he thus espoused—never did he divert his gaze from the goal which he thus resolutely sought. That he lived to bring its realization in full sight bespeaks the unconquerable determination with which he endowed his lofty purpose. That his native land now stands as one of the free and independent nations of the world is responsive, more than to all else, to the indomitable conscience of his people a firm belief in their destiny as a race, and an unshakable conviction that they lacked not the capacity fully to support independent sovereignty once attained.

* Message read at the necrological services held at the Joint Session of the Congress of the Philippines on July 28, 1946. Reprinted from the **Quezon Memorial Book**, pp. 107-109.

Two years ago, while preparing to join in the final blow for his people's liberation, death forever closed his lips and stayed his pen, but the immortal spirit which sustains his soul remains forever a dominant influence upon the destiny of the Republic for which he gave so much.

His hours of life were full—hours of peace and hours of war—of anguish and of joy—of defeat and of victory—and, as with all men, of failure and success—the rattle of musketry as he fought through the uncharted mountain wilderness to seek by war what he later won by peace—the bitter gall of defeat and surrender—the University cloisters where he learned of Christianity, of Western culture, of tradition, and of the law—the shifting fortunes of political struggle as he rose steadily to the fame of position and power—those great crusades he conducted beyond the seas—his advocacy and his success in the cause of Philippine independence—the clouds of war spreading over the Orient—the swirl of enemy bombers—the crash of death and blood and disaster—again the bitterness of defeat—then the exultation, with the rising tide of victory, as he saw our armies standing on the road back six-hundred miles from Philippine soil—followed by still waters and silence.

His soul being before the seat of Almighty God, Judge of all men and of all things, Manuel Quezon's mortal remains are now committed to the tender care of the people he loved so deeply and served so well—his cherished own. Father of this infant Republic, which he planned but never saw, he has returned—he has come home forever.

ANECDOTES ABOUT QUEZON *

By Carlos Quirino

MANUEL L. QUEZON, one of the few great Filipino leaders to die in exile, occupies a definite niche in the pantheon of our heroes. Perhaps not quite on the same exalted level as Dr. Jose Rizal, the greatest man produced by the Malay race, but certainly in the same category of our other heroes like Marcelo del Pilar, Padre Jose Burgos, Graciano Lopez Jaena, Andres Bonifacio and Apolinario Mabini.

Of humble stock produced by a fusion of the Malay and the Castilian, he inherited the shrewdness of the former and the volcanic temperament of the latter—accounting for the many seeming inconsistencies in his long political career. No Filipino has equaled his oratorical prowess, and his intuitive knowledge of Filipino mass psychology led him from one political triumph to another without meeting a single defeat at the polls. Had he elected to remain in the islands in the last war, refused to collaborate with the enemy and executed for his defiance—would he have become a hero as great or greater than Rizal? This is one of those hypotheses of history that can never be answered. But one thing is certain—Quezon was the most colorful personality produced by this country in the past one-hundred years.

The numerous facets of his personality are best illustrated by the many anecdotes told by his contemporaries about him, and a few of these appear for the first time below.

After the death of President Wilson, the Republicans came into power. Under Warren Harding, the Filipinos' plea for independence met deaf ears. His successor, Calvin Coolidge, likewise did not view favorably the political aspirations of the Filipinos. As a matter of fact, under the Republican administration, General Leonard Wood was sent to the islands

* Reprinted from the *Historical Bulletin*, 1962, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 239-243.

as governor general and the latter part of his term was marked by his repeated clashes with Quezon.

During Coolidge's administration, Quezon made one of his trips to the United States to present the views of islanders regarding the acts of General Wood. The White House was irked by the native leader's visit and kept him cooling off his heels in Washington for several days.

Piqued by the aloof attitude of the American chief executive, Quezon left Washington for Philadelphia for the purpose of making it appear that he was not too anxious to seek an appointment. Once installed at the Adelphi Hotel in the Quaker City, he received a telephone call from W. Morgan Shuster in Washington relaying the information that Secretary of War Weeks had called up to find out on behalf of Coolidge how long Quezon wanted to interview the President.

Quezon was taking a bath when the telephone call came, but wrapping a large towel around him he walked to the drawing room to talk to Shuster, who was a good and sympathetic friend of the Filipinos. When Quezon heard Secretary Week's message he became furious, turned red, but managed to suppress his anger.

"Tell Secretary Weeks for me," he said slowly, measuring every word; "that if the President of the United States is not interested in Philippine affairs, all that I shall say to him is—'I bring you the greetings of the Filipino people, Mr. President. Good day!' But if the President is interested, then it is up to him to determine the length of our conversation."

Coolidge granted Quezon half an hour for the conference.

Quezon was an expert in gaining friends and loyal followers. Soon after his split with Osmeña and Roxas over the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, he tried to win over the late Vicente Vera, political leader of Sorsogon. Vera gave a skeptical ear to Quezon's blandishments. He had successfully warded off Osmeña who had also been trying to get him as a follower. He was a stubborn man who cherished his political independence.

"Look here, chico," said Quezon. "Your leading opponent for leadership in this region is Jose Surbito—and he's an Osmeña man. If you go over to Osmeña, I'll take Surbito who, after all, is closely related to my former secretary, Felipito Buencamino. So you might as well join me."

Vera had no choice, no alternative, but to join Quezon in the political squabble that rent asunder local parties and caused a realignment of forces.

During the Hare-Hawes-Cutting controversy, Quezon once visited the town of Tanawan, Batangas, the bailiwick of Jose P. Laurel, one of the Osrox stalwarts. The crowd that gathered at the town plaza was fairly large, but decidedly lukewarm in its reception of the Senate President. Just before he got on the platform, Quezon saw a cross-eyed man approaching the stand.

"Hey, putang ina mong duling," he greeted the newcomer, "What are you doing here?"

Quezon placed his arm around the shoulders of the cross-eyed man who smiled broadly in return. This touch of friendliness thawed out the crowd, good-natured laughter rose, then cheers followed by loud applause. Needless to add, the political meeting was a success.

"Who was that cross-eyed man whom you greeted, Mr. President?" asked one of his henchmen after the meeting.

"I'll be damned if I know his name," replied Quezon. "This is the first time I've ever seen him in my life!"

After he became President of the Commonwealth, Quezon was more careful in accepting invitations from civic organizations. Once, while in the U.S., he was asked by an Irish patriotic society to speak in New York City on St. Patrick's Day. Congressman O'Malley had extended the invitation which the Filipino leader had accepted.

"But I thought you made it a point never to accept such invitations," protested one of his secretaries.

"Yes," said Quezon. "But I have a reason—do you remember that it was Cardinal Gibbons, an Irishman, who fought vigorously the grant of Philippine independence by the Congress of the United States?"

As a matter of fact, the late Cardinal had even an encyclical against it inserted in the Congressional Record. Francis B. Harrison has recorded the incident in his book on the Philippines.

"I'll make a speech," continued Quezon, "but it'll be one of the shortest I've ever made; it won't take even two lines in a newspaper. The great majority of those who will hear it won't understand, but a few will know what I really mean."

Quezon attended the meeting, and when called upon to speak said these words: "On this day, I wish for Ireland exactly what the Irish have wished for the Filipinos!" Then he sat down, midst a thunderous applause, for the Irish were then agitating for an independent Eire. But a few of the old-time Irish leaders, who had successfully delayed Philippine independence many years ago and remembered it, were wryly silent over Quezon's remark.

One sometimes wonders what the public career of Elpidio Quirino, former chief executive, would have been like had not Quezon lifted him from obscurity by appointing him as one of his private secretaries. An incident almost cut that budding career short.

Quezon had an elderly assistant who was more of a general utility man than a secretary. He pronounced English words with a decided Spanish accent, and became known among his office associates as "teepe-writer" because that was the way he mispronounced the word "typewriter." But he knew the President's character and had learned to ingratiate himself with the Filipino leader.

One day, while Quezon was on a tour of the Bicol provinces, accompanied by Elpidio and other secretaries, he felt indisposed and wanted a certain prescription filled by the local druggist. Quezon gave the order to this elderly assist-

ant who hurried from the bedroom into the living room where he came across Elpidio.

"Say, Elpidio," he ordered, "have this prescription filled right away at the nearest apothecary in town."

"Why should I?" replied Quirino, drawing himself up to his full height.

"Because it's for the President."

"No! Do your own errands!"

The assistant promptly reported to Quezon with the words: "Look, Mr. President, your secretary Quirino refuses to have this medical prescription filled out for you."

The Senate President flared up. His nostrils began quivering—an unfailing sign of anger. With them in the bedroom was another secretarial assistant, Abdon Llorente, who had just graduated from college and was still sporting a little mustache affected by the young bloods of that day.

"Llorente," thundered the Senate President. "Look for the first boat to Manila and put Quirino on it!"

But young Llorente, despite being new in the service, was fully acquainted with his master's fiery temper. He went to the pier, dawdled for a couple of hours to let Quezon's anger subside, then reported that there were no ships available.

"Did you go to the ship's agents?" asked Quezon.

"No, sir," admitted Llorente, then added with a smile: "There will be a dance after the big political meeting where you will make a speech, señor presidente."

Now, if there were two weaknesses in Quezon's character they were a predilection for making public speeches and dancing with the fair ladies. His interest thus diverted, Quezon promptly forgot about the incident with Quirino.

Meanwhile, Llorente briefed Elpidio on what had happened, and when Quezon called for the latter on the following day, Quirino had a ready answer for his behavior.

"Mr. President, I'm ready at all times to obey your orders," avowed Elpidio. "But I don't want to be ordered around by subordinates."

Quezon, himself a proud and sensitive man, accepted the explanation as satisfactory.

MANUEL L. QUEZON AND I *

By Proceso E. Sebastian

IT HAS BEEN a rare privilege for me to have known, worked with and served under all our Presidents, from Quezon to Marcos: Quezon and Osmeña during the Commonwealth regime; Laurel during the short-lived Japanese sponsored Republic of the Philippines and Roxas, Quirino, Magsaysay, Garcia, Macapagal and Marcos since the establishment of the Republic of the Philippines, historically the third republic.

Deeds are more eloquent than words. Judge a man by his acts and not by his words. A man's character may be gleaned from the way he conducts himself. The life of any man, and especially that of great men, is full of incidents which illustrate his true nature, his character. I personally know of many incidents which vividly portray the character of President Quezon.

A few months before the general elections of 1928, Senate President Quezon and Speaker Roxas, with some cabinet members and other high officials, visited Cagayan, possibly to assess the political situation and endorse the candidates of the Nacionalista party. I was then the Provincial Governor of Cagayan. Although I belonged to the Democrata Party, the opposition, I invited the provincial and municipal officials, prominent persons and political leaders of the province to come to Tuguegarao to meet the Quezon-Roxas party. President Quezon and Speaker Roxas had occasion to confer with the local officials and with the political leaders of the Nacionalista Party. I do not know what transpired in their private conference with the local Nacionalista leaders.

During the public meeting at the town plaza of Tuguegarao, after informing our distinguished visitors of the needs of the province and our request for help as stated by the pre-

* Reprinted from the 1978 Manuel L. Quezon Centennial Souvenir Program, pp. 36, 38, 40.

vious local speakers, President Quezon got up and among other things said:

"I am a great admirer of Governor Sebastian. He went with me to the U.S. as a member of the First Parliamentary Mission. I must confess that I have learned to like him and admire him. As you probably have read in the papers, when Governor Wood gave a luncheon at Malacañang in honor of the provincial governors, I asked Governor Sebastian to speak for the Governors."

"Governor Sebastian is not only a very competent and very able man, but" he continued, "he has a very BIG DEFECT."

President Quezon paused to observe the effect of his words. The public was astounded. An ominous silence followed. President Quezon with his incomparable political astuteness, then released a bombshell saying:

"Governor Sebastian has a big defect, because he is a **Democrata**. He should be a **Nacionalista**. If he were a **Nacionalista**, he would get more funds for you and more improvements would come to your province. I have tried to convince him to join our party but he invariably answered that having been elected as a **Democrata** he should remain a **Democrata**. Let us admire him for his manly stand and for his loyalty to his party. Very few people have this courage.

However, I wish to tell you that although he is a **Democrata**, if I were a voter of Cagayan, I would gladly vote for Governor Sebastian."

Such a frank statement coming from no other than President Quezon, who was also the President of the **Nacionalista Party**, was received with loud and deafening cheers by the crowd, who responded with the words: "We will certainly vote for Sebastian again."

The above incident, small and insignificant as it may seem to a man of Quezon's stature, clinched my reelection as provincial governor to the chagrin of my vulnerable opponent, former Governor Honorio Lasam of Tuguegarao. At the po-

pular reception which I gave at my residence after the meeting, some Nacionalista leaders told the President that former Governor Lasam was disgusted, to which President Quezon retorted, "I have already sounded and talked to all leaders, who openly admitted that the people of Cagayan would like to see Governor Sebastian reelected, because he has done very well. We should not thwart the people's will."

Another incident which illustrates the character of President Quezon was the case of Manuel Blanco, who was the Provincial Fiscal when I was the executive Judge of the Court of First Instance of Iloilo.

One day, Asst. Fiscal Ignacio Debuque came to my office to show me a telegram from Malacañang instructing Fiscal Blanco to report on a certain case. Fiscal Blanco was then on vacation. So I told Assistant Fiscal Debuque to conduct the desired investigation and submit his report to Malacañang. I do not know what happened afterwards but the next thing I knew President Quezon had ordered the dismissal of Fiscal Blanco.

A few weeks after this incident, I found myself in Malacañang, and there met Fiscal Blanco, who was trying to see the President. When the President saw Blanco he flew into a rage. After the explosive outburst, quite natural for an impulsive and a temperamental man like President Quezon, I quietly told the President that Fiscal Blanco was at that time on vacation and that it was Fiscal Debuque, who later became Judge of the Court of First Instance, who was then Acting Fiscal. The President turned to me and asked me why I had not informed him earlier of this. I explained that I had never been asked about the matter, and I never had a chance to visit Manila since this incident occurred.

From his fit of anger, he arrived at a calm decision and the President announced that he will study the case further. A few days later, Fiscal Blanco was not only reinstated as Provincial Fiscal but was promoted by the President Judge-at-Large of the Court of First Instance. Judge Blanco died a few years ago. Before he died, he blessed the memory of President Quezon.

QUEZON AS I KNEW HIM*

By Jose S. Laurel III

MY KNOWLEDGE of President Manuel L. Quezon was derived mainly from the brief stint I served, when I was still a young man, as his junior military aide. That was during the period from 1938 to 1941, or, more correctly, during 2 years of this period.

In 1934, while only 20 years of age, I was on my way to Rollins College in Florida, U.S.A., on a scholarship grant. When my ship stopped over in Hongkong, I was surprised to receive a cryptic telegram from my father instructing me to proceed directly to Japan and enroll instead at the Imperial Military Academy. I did so without question, as was expected then of a good son, but also not without wonder. Later I was to find out that it was Quezon who had suggested the sudden change of plans.

Quezon explained to my father that there were enough Filipino students going then to the United States and that in any case we knew enough about that country. By contrast, our knowledge of Japan was virtually nil. Quezon felt that Japan was the emerging power in Asia and that, therefore, we should know more about that country. My father agreed.

Being the first Filipino to be admitted by what was then the West Point of Japan, I must admit I had a difficult time specially during the initial years. But, as they say, hard work and perseverance finally willed out and in 1938 I was able to complete my course of study including the required tour of duty at the Imperial Guards Division. In the same year I was commissioned by the Commonwealth Government probationary 3rd lieutenant in the Philippine Army. And it was in this capacity that I was soon enough pulled out from my

* Reprinted from the 1978 Manuel L. Quezon Centennial Souvenir Program, pp. 37, 39, 40.

assignment with GHQ and detailed as the junior aide-de-camp to President Quezon, on his direct order.

President Quezon was in 1938 already 60 years old, whereas I was only 23, less than half his age. Moreover, this was the President of the Philippines, my commander-in-chief, the domineering, temperamental, bushy-browed Quezon with whom even American governor-generals picked their words and trod ever so softly. You can, therefore, imagine the trepidation with which I approached my extraordinary assignment.

Yet, by and large, I was to find it a memorable and rewarding experience. My tour of duty as aide to President Quezon is in fact one of my most treasured memories that I take much pride and joy in recollecting. My reason is that it gave me the rare opportunity of knowing one of the greatest figures of our race, to assess him at close range as an ordinary human being, with all his strengths and weaknesses and divested of the trappings of authority.

My most enduring remembrance of Quezon is about his thoughtfulness. As I look back now, it seems that he was forever asking me how I was every time I reported for duty. I do not know if that was a reflection on my physique at the time—I weighed only 120 pounds then—but in any case I was always deeply grateful for his constant concern for my well-being.

One would think that a man who had spent practically all his life in the rough-and-tumble of politics, and unavoidably made not a few enemies, would develop a kind of ruthlessness, if only in self-defense. Yet, despite his exterior image, Quezon was surprisingly soft-hearted. One could easily glean this from his tenderness toward his wife, the self-effacing Doña Aurora, and their three children. Not equally perceptible was his kindness toward others, including those with whom he did not see eye to eye.

Quezon as I remember him had a deep sense of gratitude. During my daily association with him for all of two years, I

was more often than not privy to his remarks and his conversations. Yet I do not remember ever hearing him say anything unkind against any one to whom he owed some favor, whether great or small. Of these persons, he always spoke with warm affection.

For all his well-publicized outbursts of temper, Quezon also had a contagious sense of humor. This was perhaps his best redeeming virtue—the counterfoil to his countless and terrifying “Puñeta!” that often reverberated in Malacañang. Many were the times when I caught him in a good mood, and he would recount to me a few of his youthful escapades, usually romantic. I would listen fascinated, with eyes wide with wonder and, yes, envy.

For all his dynamic and energetic leadership, Quezon was in bad health. Apart from the lung ailment that was finally to claim his life, he had chronic coughs from which he suffered innumerable and punishing attacks. During these attacks, I would carry him bodily to his bedroom, usually from the ground floor up a long and seemingly endless staircase. This was to me my heaviest duty, literally, for he had an inert weight of about 160 pounds. Yet I remember it now with pleasure. In lighter moments, Quezon would tease me about my build and even ask me to feel his own biceps. He was proud of his muscles.

His real strength was, of course, not in his muscles but in his character, in his indomitable aspiration for the freedom of his people, in his driving desire to fight for it. In fighting this good fight, he was in his own element, so to speak, and no adversary was too strong, no opponent too formidable. Even the Americans respected him. Quezon was no brown lackey of Washington. I saw Quezon talk with a number of them, including the imperious General MacArthur, and he did so on equal terms, without fawning or submissiveness or obsequiousness but always with ease and dignity, as befitted the leader of his nation. Those moments never failed to fill me with deep pride.

It is now forty years since that day when I first nervously reported to President Manuel L. Quezon as his junior military aide. I have known since then many other leaders of our country, some of whom I also had the chance to observe at close range and to appraise for their all too-human qualities. I can say categorically that, in comparison, Quezon stands head and shoulders above all of them. He is the one I remember best because I think he was the best.

QUEZON, THE FATHER *

An interview with Nini Quezon Avanceña

By Araceli T. Salazar

WRITING ABOUT a well-established 'legend' has its drawbacks, this interviewer discovered.

Talking about the same 'legend' even if the 'legend' happens to be one's father is also as disconcerting.

This we could see from interviewing Mrs. Nini Quezon Avanceña, velvet-eyed mother of eight, and daughter of the late President of the Philippine Commonwealth, Manuel L. Quezon.

For what more can one add to the legend that was President Quezon? His fiery character, his brilliant career, his presidency, his fights for our Independence have been the subject of articles, of books, and even of plays for the past decades.

And so, here we were, Mrs. Avanceña and the writer, hopefully jabbing at points which could lead into something that had not yet been plumbed by others. Thus the gist of our interview:

What would we try to talk about? Perhaps your father as a politician?

"Well, those around him, his aide-de-camps, the congressmen at that time, the newspapermen and others could tell you more about that part of my father's life. Anyway, there is practically nothing we can say about my father that hasn't been written in print, in that department."

What about Quezon, the father?

* Reprinted from the *Student Life*, August 1942, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 7-9, 33.

"My brother and I, everytime we're interviewed are asked about that particular aspect of President Quezon's life; since that logically should be the part we could most authoritatively speak about."

Or, maybe the anecdotes about him?

"There are so many of them that off-hand I cannot think of anyone particularly that may prove of interest to you. But, perhaps in the course of our conversation, some good ones may crop up."

So, we hopefully decided to talk about anything—anything concerning her father, the late President Manuel L. Quezon.

How did President Quezon feel when he first stepped into the carpeted halls of Malacañang? If we recall our history, he was the very first Filipino executive to occupy the Palace?

A glimmer of remembrance, an anecdote coming out of the mists of recall, and Mrs. Avanceña then gave us a rare insight into the mind of a man for whom the presidency of the nation was no mere accident:

"In 1917 when the Governor General still resided in Malacañang, my father visited him one day together with my aunt. As they were going up the steps, he told her in Tagalog: 'Miling, the next time you will come up these steps, I shall be the occupant of this Palace.' His sister-in-law just shrugged it off.

"But she had reason to remember because, true enough, the next time she went up these steps it was with my father and all of us going up Malacañang as the first Filipino executive's family to occupy it."

Mrs. Avanceña added however that this desire of President Quezon to be president of the Philippines was just a means towards his most consuming passion—the independence of the Philippines. Since his days in Congress, papers have followed him through his 'good fight', minutely, down

to his impassioned orations for independence in front of the American Senate in Washington. That was the goal of his whole political career—everything else was geared towards that.

At the very threshold of independence, even while Osmeña was preparing to wade through the shores of Leyte, President Quezon's dying thoughts at Lake Saranac were on the threat of destruction which Liberation might bring upon the Philippines.

Mrs. Avanceña recalled how he kept repeating to Mrs. Quezon his wish that Japan might surrender before MacArthur returned to the Philippines. "In that way, the country may not suffer great destruction."

Although he did not live to see the Sun and Stars flutter where the Stars and Stripes used to flap, God spared him, too, from seeing the land over which the Sun and Stars waved—a land raked into ashes and rubble, free but terribly destroyed.

He was one of the fightingest architects of the Philippine Independence. He lived for that. For this he became President. Between that 'good fight' and taking care of the nation's needs, what time did he have left for the family?

We knew this was a question which was most unfair for the members of a president's family. But we also knew this was a stock question which was inevitable. Mrs. Avanceña, however, was equal to the occasion when she answered:

"My father was never too busy for us. We had a lot more private life than the families of present-day presidents. The people didn't think they owned every minute of the president's time, so long as he did his work well. When we were in Malacañang, it was more of a home than it is today. It was as if an ordinary father would have his office within his house. It was only on Sundays that visitors would stream in. The rest of the week he was 'at home' with us.

"We could go around as if we were in our own house without strangers staring at us. We could ask our friends

into our place like any ordinary teen-agers. We even went swimming at the Malacañang swimming pool in front of the Executive Building near Aviles. Although my father had the pool transferred afterwards to the park for reasons of propriety. He loved to see young people around."

Like any other Filipino father, however, he was strict with his girls, Nini and Baby (the late Maria Aurora). The youngest, Nonong, was then too young for socials. Looking back to her father's care for his 'budding teen-ager daughters, Nini explained:

"We were not allowed to go out on dates, although we could receive all the visitors we wanted at home. He also didn't like the idea of our going out to parties often. That he frowned upon."

Yet President Quezon was known to be one of the gayest, most fun-loving heads of states of the country.

"Yes," added Mrs. Avanceña, "We all except mother loved dancing. My father loved dancing very much. He occasionally went out dancing with my sister and me and our friends. He'd ask us to invite our friends and we'd all 'step out' to Jai-Alai or to other places.

The job of hostessing which Mrs. Quezon did not relish so much was 'assigned' to elder daughter, Baby, according to Mrs. Avanceña.

"I didn't like to attend social functions either. And since Baby enjoyed it very much, we left it to her. Occasionally she'd complain to us about being left the burden of the socials. But they couldn't pull me out of the palace."

This, she recalled, occasioned the following incident whereby her father one day asked her to attend a social function with him.

"You know the President's invitation is a command," he told his daughter who was hedging.

"Are you inviting me as the President of the Philippines, or as my father?" she asked him jokingly.

Immediately President Quezon's eyes twinkled as he answered: "Since I know you hate these social functions, I am inviting you as a father, so you can refuse if you want to."

She refused. She always remembers the fact that although President Quezon had a noted temper, he never used to unduly impose on his children. This did not detract from the fact that his influence on his children was tremendous. As a father, he was very thoughtful, affectionate, loving.

The mere force of his character, however, has remained long after his death, not only influencing his surviving children but imposing such on the course of our history as a nation that Quezon, unwittingly has laid the whole burden of gratitude upon an independent Filipino nation who remembers him this month, and all the years to come as the champion of Philippine rights.

THE QUEZON-SALAZAR INCIDENT *

By Leopoldo R. Serrano

IT IS SAID that the world loves a fighter. And we should know that the great Manuel L. Quezon became the idol of his people because, as shown by his long record as a politician and leader and according to his autobiography titled *The Good Fight*, he was a fighter all his life. And he had a temper, too, which made him a formidable opponent, both his friends and adversaries admitted.

Two anecdotes may be mentioned to explain further the two traits of Quezon mentioned in the foregoing paragraph.

Once, his Chinese valet was dismissed without much ado by Quezon. The reason: the valet, seeing the set of false teeth of his master left somewhere in his room, took the initiative of cleaning it. But he was seen by Quezon, who at once flared up and, without giving him a chance to explain, told him to leave the house at once and never to show his face there again.

But when the Celestial was packing his things, Quezon approached him, patted him on the back, and told him not to leave. Of course his valet was happy and he said: "I know, because when you are angry you are bog, bog, bog!"

When still a young kid in Baler, he was reprimanded by his father for slapping a boy. He was told that when he had to hit one who did him wrong he must hit him with his fist.

The incident on January 8, 1909, wherein Quezon and Hugo Salazar were the protagonists, clearly shows that the former would not tolerate any insult or attack on his character. He would not rest until he obtained satisfaction.

Hugo Salazar was the editor of *La Democracia*, the organ of the Federal Party and its successor, the Progresista Party.

* Reprinted from the *Historical Bulletin*, 1962, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 249-252.

Naturally, it was always ready to criticize any questionable act or step taken by the leaders of rival of the party it served, which was the Nacionalista Party.

The incident between Quezon and Salazar, which gained nationwide popularity, was caused by some personal remarks by **La Democracia** about Quezon in its editorial column on January 7, 1909. Quezon felt quite justified in resenting such personal remarks. Quezon, it should be recalled, planned a visit to his province, accompanying General Bandholts, Colonel Harbord, and Commissioner Gilbert. **La Democracia** questioned the propriety of the three ranking American officials in the Philippine government in traveling with Quezon because of the alleged two cases in the court of Tayabas (now Quezon) in which he was involved. That trip, according to the organ of the opposition party, would create a feeling that would "tend to defeat the ends of justice" and that the chief of the Constabulary, General Bandholtz, would be showing "intervention in the political affairs of the country in contravention to the law."

The **Cablenews American** gave an account of the incident, which certainly gave our countrymen an idea of the now well-known Quezonian temper. It follows:

Early yesterday morning (January 8, 1909—S.) Sr. Villamor Mr. Quezon's attention to the article in question.

"Did you see what **La Democracia** had to say about you?" said he.

"No, I did not," was the reply. "What was it?"

Sr. Villamor showed him the paper.

"Caramba!" exclaimed Sr. Quezon. "What the devil do they mean? You come with me right away and we'll make them take it back!"

"You bet," answered Sr. Villamor, "we'll make them retract; you watch me."

They then proceeded to the office of **La Democracia**. Up the stairway they went without opposition and into the sanctum sanctorum of the editor. What followed can be better imagined than described. The scene, to accept the description of an eye-

witness, was like the acrobatic feats of a car in a fit shut up in a kitchen with a parrot thrown in.

The result was a severe drubbing of Hugo Salazar, the editor of *La Democracia*, to the complete satisfaction of the aggressor. Casualties: none killed; one wounded.

But the *Cablenews American's* account might contain some exaggeration. In fairness to Salazar and Quezon, their own versions of the incident should also be mentioned. They had to give them, for their misunderstanding and quarrel were played up by the press and became the talk of the town.

Salazar's version was given by *La Democracia* in its issue on the same day the incident took place. It follows:

This morning there occurred in our office an event that cannot be qualified and that has no precedent.

About half past ten Sr. Quezon appeared here for the purpose of speaking with our editor, Sr. Salazar. Dr. Alemany happened to be present and received Sr. Quezon, telling him that Sr. Salazar would be in shortly. And so it happened.

Our editor arrived and while he was talking with Sr. Quezon Dr. Alemany was conversing with Sres. Villamor and Lerma. Suddenly during the conversation that passed between Sr. Quezon and Sr. Salazar, our director was seen to fall to the floor, chair and all, brutally attacked by Sr. Quezon.

Dr. Alemany separated them and led Quezon out of the room. The question arose out of an article that appeared in our column yesterday (January 7, 1909—S.) which Sr. Quezon believed to be an insult. We have nothing but words of protest against those who seek redress in this manner instead of taking their differences to the courts. . .

Quezon's version of the incident appeared in his lengthy communication to the editor of *El Mercantil*, the organ of the Spanish community here. In that communication, he explained and justified his conduct in the editorial office of *La Democracia* on the morning of January 7, 1909. Follows a reproduction of that communication by an American afternoon daily in Manila in its issue three days after that event referred to:

He (Quezon) declares that the editorial attack of the Progresista organ was the culmination of a long series of slanderous references to his person, attacks that were especially venomous at a time when he was absent from the country (he was sent abroad by the government—S.) and unable to defend himself. These attacks he had persistently and patiently ignored, preferring to act as a gentleman instead of replying in kind. The editorial of January 7, Quezon says, capped the climax for deliberate falsehood and intent of defamation of character, and, while ordinarily a sincere disciple of the great apostle of the doctrine of non-resistance, he believes there is such a thing as stretching the turn-the-other-cheek injunction to a point impracticable in politics—in short, he asserts that to remain silent after the outrageous insult offered him, would bear no other interpretation than that of a tacit admission of the truth of the slanderous allegations.

Señor Quezon denies that he assaulted Salazar, stating that Señor Villamor bumped in at the critical moment separating himself and Salazar when he had hold of the latter's collar and does not say whether he appreciates or deplores this interference. The statement made in La Democracia that Señor Villamor had reproached him for his conduct is untrue, according to Quezon. Neither had Doctor Alemany taken a hand in the proceedings, for the very good reason "that he did not dare to."

In conclusion, Señor Quezon says: "My conduct, dear Mr. Editor, was the effect of circumstances. I could not act otherwise. I could not ask for explanations, nor could I answer through the medium of the press, disproving the accusations, because I am not in the habit of descending to mixing up in newspaper discussions, nor have I time to do so, or to take a fellow before the courts of justice.

"Excuse my long letter, which was prompted by my wish to let the public know, through the columns of your valuable paper 1. that I have not attacked the managing director of La Democracia but that all I did was to resent his provocation, and 2. that I respect and recognize the right of criticism of the press, which is one of the purest guarantees of liberty and justice, but that I condemn those who use this privilege to indulge in spiteful and rancorous personal attack."

Fearing that, due to that incident, Quezon would become **persona non grata** to the newspaper fraternity and his future career would suffer, the friends and supporters of Quezon made strong efforts to bring peace between him and the editor of the organ of the opposition party. In fact, the

Cablenews America, the American paper which had little love for the party that advocated independence for this country, capitalized on that incident and scored Quezon in the following harsh words:

Lastima! That of all the native born in these islands so beloved of the sun, Manuel Quezon should have gone outside the law! How great grief he has caused his friends and admirers one can but see. Constabulary headquarters are redolent of mortifications.

Can it be. . . that when the third most powerful man in the Philippines was supposed to have been pouring over volumes at the library in New York (Quezon went to New York during his trip abroad—S.), he was instead occupying a front seat beside the padded ring, and cheering on the champeen with the Tagalog for "Hit him in the slats"? . . .

How sarcastic! But whether the step taken by Quezon to defend his honor is justifiable or not is left for the reader to decide. We should not, however, lose sight of this thing: Quezon merely showed that he had his own way of getting even with his bitterest enemy or critic, who would spare nothing to put him in bad light in the eyes of his countrymen. The Quezon-Salazar incident shows to us that Quezon had a temper. It also shows that he never forgot the advice of his father.

But many of our leaders, like Quezon's valet, understood Quezon, his impulsive nature, and so, they were able to get along alright with him and became his life-long friends.

QUEZON, AS I KNEW HIM*

By Luis Serrano

FUTURE HISTORIANS will probably write of President Manuel L. Quezon, whose 84th birthday anniversary the nation celebrates today, as the greatest president the Philippines has ever produced. He will be pointed out as the man who did more for the independence of his country than any other man before or after him.

His fights in the halls of the United States Congress, from the time he was resident commissioner in 1909 until the passage of the Jones Law in 1916, and later in 1933, when his labors brought forth the Tydings-McDuffie Law which definitely set a date for Philippine independence, appear in the United States Congressional Record for all historians and future generations of Filipinos to ponder and admire.

Stripped of the halo surrounding him because of his patriotic labors, what is really known about Quezon the man? What is known of the inner Quezon that impelled Public Official Quezon to do acts of generosity and kindness of which very few have come to public notice? What kind of a heart did Quezon have?

If you attempt to judge Quezon from the official photograph which hangs on the wall of many a public office, you will likely form the opinion that he was a hard, severe, and harsh man to deal with. You will never be more mistaken in your life. Impulsive and even violent at times, but harsh and severe never.

The story of the taking of that photograph is interesting in itself. It took more than a dozen sittings and the wasting of scores of negatives before Quezon finally stamped his OK. Manuel Arellano was Malacañang official photographer at the

* Reprinted from the Sunday Times Magazine, August 19, 1962, pp. 1, 12-A, Cq. 5.

time. The then new President, in order to meet the demands of thousands of admirers, both here and abroad, for his photograph, requested Arellano to take his picture. The photographer had to go to the palace many times to do his job. Of the numerous shots taken, Quezon selected the one that portrayed him as an austere, grave, tough-looking man who, at first glance, would brook no opposition to his slightest wish. Head erect, mouth firm, eyebrow superciliously raised—all this speaks of a man who would have his every wish obeyed. A dictator, in brief.

But appearances are deceptive, and in the case of Quezon's picture, absolutely so. The picture camouflaged the real virtues of a golden heart that was Quezon's. I shall try to illustrate this in the few incidents which I am going to relate.

One of the greatest achievements of President Quezon, to my mind, was a negative one. He did not send a single man to the electric chair during his entire incumbency as Chief Executive. He invariably commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment. While his official duty urged him to send a hardened criminal to his doom, his heart rebelled at the thought of snuffing out the life of a fellow-man. He believed that the most hardened criminal, if given a chance, would reform in the end.

In January 1936 President Quezon dismissed eight senior cadets from the Philippine Military Academy for hazing. Sometime later he made it known to the army authorities that he would interpose no objection if the dismissed cadets were to be allowed to come into the army as enlisted men. They enlisted. From the ranks some rose to become generals. What would have happened to those cadets if Quezon's heart were made of a different stuff?

When he was Senate president he made a visit to Baler, his hometown. He found out that most of the 2,000-hectare land he had inherited from his father was taken over by settlers who had come from different parts of the islands, mainly from the Ilocos provinces. He immediately ordered that

titles be issued to the squatters. Only 1,000 hectares was left to him after the issuance of the titles.

In a later visit, this time as President of the Philippines, he discovered that the 2,000-hectare block he had given away was not enough for the settlers who had increased in number. He again issued orders to subdivide the remaining 1,000 hectares and issue the corresponding titles to the landless settlers. He and his heirs were left not even a square foot of land in Baler.

It should be explained here that the 3,000-hectare tract he inherited had been granted to his father, school teacher Lucio Quezon, through *informacion posesoria*, a system of acquiring legal title to lands during Spanish times.

Just before the last world war, he had a sizable farm in Arayat, Pampanga, which was his favorite weekend retreat with his family, Kaledian, which was the name he had given to the Arayat farm, was later subdivided and given away to the tenants. Many Pampango families hold the Quezon family in grateful remembrance because of this generous act.

I recall the incident, between President Quezon and his private secretary, Guillermo Cabrera. In a tense moment during a cabinet meeting, a fretful and uneasy Quezon blasted away at Cabrera with his favorite Spanish expletive that begins with the letter P.

Cabrera, humiliated, pale and trembling, retired to his own office and forthwith wrote a letter of resignation. After the cabinet meeting Cabrera handed his resignation to the President. The President appeared surprised, but told Cabrera that he would act on the matter later.

The next day there was another cabinet meeting. As usual, Cabrera was there to take down notes of the proceedings. Before the surprised members of his official family, the President apologized to Cabrera for his behavior of the previous day. Later he asked Cabrera if he was satisfied. Of course, he was, and glad, too. Many years later, Quezon had Cabrera appointed as municipal judge of Manila.

Inocentes Villegas, private secretary to Maj. Dwight D. Eisenhower, military assistant at Malacañang, underwent the same ordeal as Cabrera. For alleged interference with the implementation of the compulsory military training act, Villegas got a terrible dressing-down from the President. The ignominy culminated in the President's firing Villegas.

The following day the President was informed by an adviser that Villegas was a civil service employe who could not be dismissed even by the President without due process of law. The President had Villegas recalled. Much later Eisenhower obtained a lieutenant's commission in the Philippine Army for Villegas. Ever heard of the name Eisenhower?

Then there was the case of a laborer whom President Quezon saw working hard in the Malacañang grounds after office hours. He thought that hard physical labor was too much for the frail-looking young man who appeared to have seen better days. He had seen better days. A brief interview resulted in the President's sending the man to Executive Secretary Jorge B. Vargas for a change of job. Vargas appointed him to a clerical position.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that President Quezon highly valued intellectual capacity, honesty and integrity. They were the yardstick he used in the appointment of his first cabinet under the Commonwealth. Regional consideration was never a factor in the appointments. His first cabinet (1935) was composed of Vice President Sergio Osmeña of Cebu as secretary of public instruction, Elpidio Quirino of Ilocos Sur as secretary of the interior, Jose Yulo of Negros Occidental as secretary of justice, Antonio de las Alas of Batangas as secretary of finance, Eulogio Rodriguez of Rizal as secretary of agriculture and natural resources, Mariano Jesus Cuenco of Cebu as secretary of public works and communications, Ramon Torres of Negros Occidental as secretary of labor, and Jorge B. Vargas of Negros Occidental as executive secretary.

You will notice that no cabinet member came from Tayabas, Mr. Quezon's home province which later was named after him.

It was the same with the 1940 cabinet. None came from Tayabas. Rafael Alunan of Negros Occidental was secretary of the interior; Manuel A. Roxas of Capiz was secretary of finance; Jose Abad Santos of Pampanga was secretary of justice; Benigno S. Aquino of Tarlac was secretary of agriculture and natural resources; Mariano Jesus Cuenco of Cebu was retained as secretary of public works and communications; Jorge C. Bocobo of Tarlac was secretary of public instruction; Jose Avelino of Samar was secretary of labor; Teofilo Sison of Pangasinan was secretary of national defense; and Jorge B. Vargas of Negros Occidental was executive secretary.

President Quezon's closest confidant, adviser, and aide-de-camp was neither a relative nor a provincemate nor a political protegee. He was Manuel Nieto of Isabela, the same Nieto who after Quezon's death became Philippine ambassador to Spain.

DEEP SECRET OF QUEZON REVEALED FOR THE FIRST TIME*

By Vicente L. Del Fierro

OUT OF THE dusty memory of the past, not found in any book about the great Manuel Luis Quezon, we are privileged to relate in the life of any great man of the 20th century.

It is a story that happened 25 years ago, when Quezon was in full flush of his power as President of the Philippine Senate, when the now historic Quezon-Wood feud had only recently erupted into one of the most stirring chapters in the annals of our libertarian struggle.

The legendary figure that is Quezon emerged from the Philippine revolution a hero in his own right.

He made enemies as well as friends; in fact, he made bitter, life-long enemies; but he made more, steadfast, life-long friends.

One such man—and here enters the narrator of the story, Atty. Victoriano Yamzon, first Filipino reporter in English, the first **Star Reporter** of the Philippines—was Santiago Antonio of Manila.

Santiago Antonio, Yamzon told us at the lobby of the Avenue Hotel recently while he became nostalgic over his newspaper career which has yet no peer and few equals—was one such devoted friend.

In fact, Quezon, did so much for Santiago Antonio that the latter was ready to give his life for Quezon.

There was a wide gap of years between the two.

When they first met, Quezon was in his early twenties, and Santiago Antonio, in his late forties.

In 1923, Santiago Antonio came upon some legacy amounting to P20,000. He was childless and failing in health.

* Reprinted from the Administration Magazine, August 1948, p. 50.

Without much ado, he hired Yamzon as a lawyer, and he broached the idea of adopting Quezon as a son, giving him not only his name but also his earthly possessions.

This could only be done by going to court. So, one early morning, Quezon, accompanied by Manuel Nieto and Santiago Antonio, accompanied by Yamzon, entered the sala of Judge Anacleto Diaz in the Manila Court of First Instance. Right then and there, the learned judge approved the motion whereby Quezon, a great man, was adopted by a weak, and ailing old man, with full privilege of using the name of Antonio as his last nomenclature.

Immediately after, Quezon asked that the papers be removed from the docket of the court and placed in the National Archives. It is not known whether Quezon ever used the name Antonio which he could rightly and legally use as part of his name.

"It was the rarest case of adoption I have ever known. I have not met a similar case in my practice. The usual way is for a strong or a rich man to adopt a weaker, and less powerful man. It is a story of human gratitude that is not only exemplary but magnificent," Yamzon said.

QUEZON, HIS SECRET*

By Jesus M. Intengan

I WATCHED President Quezon very carefully when he addressed the R.O.T.C. units last Monday afternoon intent on discovering the secret of his hold on the masses. How does he do it, I asked myself.

And I decided to watch him as he spoke.

President Quezon has a striking figure. He is a handsome man. This is an important element. But he is not only handsome. He breathes masculinity. He does not appear as he stands up to face his audience as a sissified, dandified personality, despite his meticulous care in dressing up. When he rises and surveys his public, the first impression one gets is that he is a he-man.

Why? It is not because of his pose, chest out and neck somewhat stretched, nor of his self-confidence and perfect poise. It is his clean-cut features, his mobile face which, seen from a distance, is as marblelesque as a bust fresh from the hands of a sculptor. "Mobile" and "marblelesque" seem contradictory and yet that is the only way his face can be described, the mobility referring to its sensitiveness to express emotion, and the carefully and distinctly outlined features adjectivized as of marble.

He speaks. His voice has some of the squeaky character that grates on the ears. There is nothing of the tenor falsetto that is effeminate. It is not a round rotund basso that detracts your attention from his speech because of its quality. It is a manly voice, neither soft nor stentorian, a voice which can be heard without calling attention to itself, and the hearer gets the words and the thought without the voice in anyway obtruding itself, into your attention.

* Reprinted from the Philippines Herald, January 21, 1937.

President Quezon is not an orator in the strict sense of the word. He does not arouse emotion. He shuns the flowery language. He despises the ornate style. There is nothing literary in his speeches. He does not resort to the usual oratorical tricks of verbal "drums and cymbals" to sway his audience. But he is a debater par excellence. We don't know of any Filipino who can effectively cross swords with him in a debate.

This is the reason why President Quezon is at his best when provoked. When he is attacked or is attacking, he is unbeatable. His set speeches lack the fire of the Quezon fighting spirit. He is a master logician. No matter how involved or complex a proposition may be, his trained logician's mind can immediately boil it down to its fundamental premises.

And he has a surplus of common sense. He has no use for theories and theorists. His is a practical mind that refuses to be obscured by academic disquisitions and theoretical discussions. Endowed with a brilliant mind, he can read through volumes and assimilate only that which is pertinent to the subject that he is at the time studying. When Governor Stimson brought up the subject of the amendment to the corporation law, Mr. Quezon sought advice from all sources and the then practising attorney Jose Yulo, Judge Ross and others brought to his house in Pasay innumerable treatises on corporation law. He read some of them and two days afterwards he astounded the lawyers by discussing the law with them as if he had been a corporation lawyer all his life.

When he spoke last Monday to the R.O.T.C. units, he was at his best, not because he was "mad" as some put it when he is in his fighting mood, but because he was in effect arguing the case for the National Defense Plan against the pacifists and defeatists. He was debating, ripping through arguments, fallacies and sophisms, and when he debates, you can see his rectilinear logic going straight through the speech like a white flame of acetylene fire.

And that is the secret of his hold on the masses. He knows when to attack and whom to attack, and when he attacks, it is no miss-and-hit proposition but always the bull's eye. His language is so simple, his logic so unerring, his delivery so forceful that his audience is in the hollow of his hand. Besides, no living Filipino knows the psychology of his people, their strength and their weaknesses, especially their weaknesses, better than President Quezon, and when he speaks no one can use such knowledge to a better advantage than he can.

During the acrid controversy over the HHC law, a mammoth student gathering was held at the Metropolitan Theater. His opponents saw to it that the first rows of the theater were occupied by their men, ready to hoot and hiss him at the slightest provocation. When President Quezon entered the theater and ascended the platform, his knowledge of human nature as well as his experience in political meetings made him feel that there was antagonism against him.

One of the speakers was a young lady. The crowd, led by those planted in the front rows, began to heckle the embarrassed young lady, and then boos and catcalls followed. President Quezon saw his opportunity, grabbed the mallet from the presiding officer, banged for order, looked at those in the front rows with his eagle eyes, and said in a stentorian voice:

"Gentlemen: One of the foremost virtues of the Filipino race is that the Filipino knows how to respect the Filipino woman. I call on all of you to assert that Filipino virtue here today and show this young lady the respect that is her due."

He did not sit down. He remained standing, his eyes flashing fire, fixed at the public. Silence fell on the noisy crowd like a huge pall. No one moved. The President had asserted his moral influence and superiority over the students. From then on he was master of the situation, and when his turn came to speak, he was given a wild ovation.

There is only one Quezon in the Philippines today. It will take time before we get another one.

QUEZON, THE PRESS PHOTOGRAPHERS' FAVORITE*

By Rodolfo M. De Juan

WHATEVER may be said for or against Manuel L. Quezon, it can never be said that he was "mata pobre." So aver the majority of Manila's press photographers who, along with many members of the metropolitan press who have had the privilege of "covering" Quezon during his heyday, have come to worship the memory of their "best friend," the acknowledged father of his country and the champion of Philippine independence.

Of course the press photographers admit the fact that Quezon, being human, had his faults. Significantly, it was primarily because of these "faults" that the late lamented leader had been endeared to the hearts of the press photographers, if not his countrymen.

The consensus among the lensmen is that Quezon knew he was top man and made no bones about it. Imperious and impulsive by nature, he brooked neither disobedience nor defiance from anybody, and would act swiftly and surely against any man alive who would dare to lift hand or voice in remonstrance to his wishes. Even the humblest menial at Malacañan Palace—who regarded Quezon with awe and respect and adulation bordering on hero-worship—did not escape the lashings of the Quezon tongue and the Quezon ire. But they knew the man so much that they were able to endure him for years and years on end, remaining faithful and loyal to him as ever, and even willing to sacrifice their lives for him if need be. "Just let him rant and rave," they would tell you. "As soon as his ire had been spent, he would be his usual self again—the best of mortals if there ever was one."

Manila's photographers who were assigned to "cover" him knew this only too well. And so they went about their

* Reprinted from the *Administration Magazine*, August, 1948, pp. 68-70.

daily grind, almost always on tenterhooks, expecting every hour on the hour some "palabas" or another "from the grand old man." And they were not to be disappointed. For Quezon, whose temper was wont to rise at the most unexpected moments, could always be depended upon to make things either "too hot" or "too cold" for the boys of the press.

But there was one thing they can never forget about this man among men. In all his inspection tours, which took him to almost all parts of the country during his heyday, he made it a point to remember the boys—the press representatives and the press photographers—to look after their welfare, their accommodations, even their meals and "merienda." That is one thing they can now crow about. If Quezon travelled in style, they, too, travelled practically in the same manner. It was not uncommon for him to wake up in the middle of the night, or at some odd hours during the day or evening, to find out whether the "periodistas" were well taken care of.

Now there are press photographers and press photographers. Press photographers have come and gone, but there are some members of the old guard who are still in harness, working for various papers in Manila. To name a few: Emil ("Fatso") Maglalang (Malacañan), Jose Claudio and Honesto Vitug (Bulletin), Pedro Nario (Evening News), Marcial Valenzuela and Manuel Alcantara (Manila Times), Pio Carpio (Manila Chronicle), and others. At least two have since died, namely, Vicente Ferrer and Clodualdo Claudio, both of the pre-war DMHM Newspapers owned by Don Vicente Madrigal.

A talk with each of these pre-war press photographers pays forth rich dividends in Quezonian lore.

Emilio ("Fatso") Maglalang, official Malacañan photographer, waxes nostalgic when and if you can get him to recall the good old days with Quezon.

"My association with Don Manuel," he says, "dates back to the hectic days when the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law split

the whole country into two camps—the pros and the antis. I was then connected with a commercial photographic studio.

“One day, I was called in as an extra in the **Herald**. Dr. Carlos P. Romulo, then publisher of the DMHM Newspapers, had me assigned to the Quezon beat. So I went over to Malacañan, and somehow found myself inside the President's office, unnoticed, right when he was having a closed-door conference with the then Secretary Teofilo Sison. The conference was about over when President Quezon and Secretary Sison noticed me. The President raised his eyebrow in his characteristic way and demanded who I was.

“‘Remember,’ Quezon told me after I had identified myself, ‘you are not a reporter, and you have not heard anything that was said here.’ I nodded, mumbled my assent, and hurriedly made my exit.

“I was supposed to be an extra only in the **Herald** for that day and thought no more about the incident. The next day, however, I learned that Dr. Romulo had ordered a messenger to scour the city for me. It seemed that President Quezon had called up Romulo that day and asked him to assign no other photographer to Malacañan but Maglalang—that's me. That's how I got the chance to cover Quezon from then on until he died. And that's one of the reasons I have since become almost a Malacañan fixture—covering a succession of Presidents, from Quezon and Osmeña and Roxas down to President Elpidio Quirino.”

Jose Claudio, the dean of Manila's press photographers and the most famous of them all before the war, has a lot of memorable incidents with the late President Quezon. Claudio, who is now doing lens work for the **Manila Daily Bulletin** along with Honesto Vitug, another **Herald** and **Tribune** veteran, was connected with the pre-war **Tribune** at the time. He reminisces as follows:

“I had a beautiful shot of Quezon at the piers just as he was being borne on a stretcher from the boat which had taken him to the Southern Islands during one of his inspection trips. Having noticed me taking the shot, Quezon yelled:

'Arrest that man Claudio!' Detectives and plainclothesmen forthwith converged on me. One of them even tried to wrest my camera away from me, but I dared them to confiscate my camera. I told them they could file whatever charges they wanted against me, but that I would not surrender my camera to them. I further informed them that I was simply doing my duty, covering an assignment for my paper, and that's that.

"Later, I learned that the offending picture, beautiful as it was, was suppressed, following pleas for its suppression from the higher-ups."

Honesto Vitug, who has the distinction of being the only Filipino photographer to be picked by the **Associated Press** to cover the entire Far East shortly before the outbreak of the war, has a similar story to tell. He says:

"I took a beautiful picture of the President dancing with a charming partner in Baguio. The President's eagle eyes did not miss me as I was taking the shot. Shortly afterward, he approached me and quietly said: 'Vitug, see to it that that particular picture is not published.' Of course I had no idea why he didn't want the picture published. His partner was not only charming but also respectable, with not a whiff of scandal attached to her name. Somehow or other, however, I forgot the Presidential injunction, and the picture found its way into the pages of my newspaper.

"The payoff came about a week later. As usual, I went to Malacañan to cover the Presidential doings. Quezon at the time was waiting for a high government official who had just arrived from the States. As soon as this official made his way to the President's office, I followed him. The President forgot his visitor when he spotted me. His brows darkened as he yelled: 'I told you not to publish that picture, Vitug! Why did you?' When I remained tongue-tied, he roared on: 'Now get out of here. And don't show your face to me again!'

"But we knew how to handle the grand old man by that time. What I did was to keep out of his sight for sometime

until I was sure that he had already forgotten the incident. For Quezon was one not to hold grudges forever—and we loved him for it.”

About this trait of Quezon—of bawling out photographers left and right and telling them not to show their faces to him again—Marcial Valenzuela of the *Manila Times* (he was working for the *Tribune* during those good old days), has an interesting angle. Valenzuela says:

“Why, he had me arrested once at the City Hall when my powder flash boomed right in the middle of a sentence in his speech. Naturally I was detained by police officers in one of the rooms in the City Hall. By the time the President had finished delivering his speech, however, and had left for the Palace without leaving further instructions as to the disposition of my case, the police officers started scratching their heads, and finally had to let me go.”

Valenzuela at another time had another brush with Quezon. This time he was with another photographer, the late Claudio of the *Herald*, at the Jose Rizal Memorial Stadium where Quezon was scheduled to deliver a speech. Before starting his address, Quezon warned the photographers not to interrupt him when he was in the middle of a sentence because that would distract him. Besides, he said, the flash powder annoyed him.

“While we were waiting for an opportune moment,” Valenzuela relates, “Claudio was so nervous that he inadvertently released the catch on the flash gun. So, with the inevitable boom of the flash powder, came the peremptory order from Quezon: ‘Arrest those photographers!’

“To avoid ‘arrest’, Claudio and I laid flat on our stomachs, lowered our cameras, and did not stand up until the President had finished his speech and had gone back to the Palace.”

Valenzuela swells with pride every time he remembers that fact that when he was with the Quezon party in Tayabas, the late leader had entrusted to Marcial his (Quezon’s) hat, cane, and raincoat.

Pedro Nario of the Evening News—also formerly with the old **Tribune**—got his from Quezon in Baguio during a summer respite. "I certainly got a razzing from the old man when I took a picture of him as he was recuperating from an illness," he says.

Nario is also privy to that classic incident Quezon had had with the late Fr. Rector Tamayo of the U.S.T. According to this story, Quezon had requested Fr. Tamayo to see him. As soon as the good Father arrived at Mansion House, he was announced by the nurse to Quezon in this manner: "The priest is here" (pronouncing 'priest' as if it were 'press'.) Thinking that the press wanted to see him, Quezon, much annoyed, growled: "Tell the press to go to hell!" Unfortunately, Fr. Tamayo heard the remark, and left the Mansion House pronto. The slight misunderstanding, however, was cleared up later to the satisfaction of the good Father.

THEY LOVED QUEZON *

By Antonio L. Arizabal

ONE WARM MORNING, from a window of his summer house in Mariquina where he was convalescing from an illness, the late President Manuel L. Quezon watched with a mixed feeling of interest and curiosity a man bent with age. He was sweeping the dried leaves off the lawn of the Quezon home. Now and then, the aged gardener would lay down his broom to sit under one of the shade trees to rest.

President Quezon summoned Apolonio Navata, his good man Friday, and inquired who the old man was and how long he had been in the employ of the family. Apolonio informed the President that the man was a convict, serving a life term at the insular penitentiary at Muntinglupa. He was assigned to the Quezon residence to help tend to the gardens.

"Bring in that man here," President Quezon ordered.

The poor soul was frightened when he was summoned into the house. He thought he was going to be roundly scolded for loafing under the shade trees. He was trembling like a leaf when he appeared before Mr. Quezon.

But Quezon allayed his fears immediately. The President was all kindness as he asked the man who he was.

The aged lifer said he was 71 years old and entered prison 31 years previously. He had killed a man for alienating his wife's affection.

After Quezon had dismissed the man, he called the late Jose Abad Santos, then secretary of justice, on the phone. He told Secretary Abad Santos to prepare the papers for the absolute pardon of the aged prisoner.

"I want to sign that pardon today. The poor man should not remain a prisoner a day longer. He is too old and feeble

* Reprinted from the Administration Magazine, August 1948, pp. 15-17.

he could not commit any more crime even if he wanted to," the President said.

Before the sun had set that day, the aged lifer was a free man. When President Quezon gave him his pardon papers, the old man was so touched that tears rolled unbidden down his wrinkled cheeks. Practically sobbing in gratefulness, he knelt and kissed Quezon's hand.

The President fished out a hundred pesos from his pocket and gave it to the man. The amount was more than enough to defray his expenses back to his hometown. Quezon also had the man brought to Manila in the Presidential car to enable him to catch the train.

Such was the bigness of Quezon's heart.

Quezon was popular with the masses because he had had always their welfare at heart. His great concern was improving the lot of the working class. He embarked on a program of social justice which unfortunately was cut short by the war.

Some of his political rivals then said it was all a vote-getting scheme. I do not believe it was that at all. He was not playing to any gallery when, in the privacy of his room at Malacañan, he flew into a rage and cursed a sailor because of a supreme court decision on a case involving claims for the compensation of a laborer who had been killed in line of duty. Quezon charged that the decision was not helping his social justice program any.

What he said of some capitalists in particular was not fit to print. He said no money on earth could pay for the loss of a human life.

"If any capitalist who refuses to pay compensation to the family of his laborer who gets killed in line of duty is willing to kill himself for P10,000, I would put up the money this minute," he shouted to a few friends.

He sent the then Secretary of Labor Ramon Torres to Russia to study and observe how the Soviets were solving

their labor problems. When Secretary Torres returned to Manila and submitted his findings and observations, Mr. Quezon raised this question.

"Did you find the Russian working class happy under the set-up?"

* * *

His deep concern for the masses, however, did not make Mr. Quezon allergic to capital and capitalists. Business and industrial leaders in the country found in Quezon their best friend. But in his close association with big business, there was nothing in his actuation that could be interpreted that he allowed himself to be the tool of vested interests.

On the contrary, in the event of conflict of interests between capital and labor, his sympathies were always with the latter. The court of industrial relations was his baby.

* * *

During his entire stay in Malacañan, Quezon never wanted to see soldiers in the palace grounds. He did not feel the need for any. Security guards then consisted of half a dozen policemen who took their respective posts at the gates. They acted more as guides to palace visitors than as watchdogs.

It was Quezon's habit to take a stroll on the palace grounds early every morning for exercise before breakfast. He would stop at the gates and engage the policemen on sentry duty in friendly conversation. He would inquire into their work and if their health agreed with it. And his perennial question was:

"Is the palace providing you with good food?"

* * *

I had travelled with Quezon several times in the provinces. It was amazing how readily he could make himself feel at home everywhere. Housewives told me they would rather have President Quezon for a guest in their homes any time than any of the lesser lights in the government.

They said that Quezon was the easiest man to entertain. He put his hosts at ease right off by telling them frankly what he wanted. His hosts did not have to fuss and keep guessing what should be done to make him comfortable.

He was not one to hesitate telling his hosts the food he wanted to eat. Invariably, the choice ran to two dishes—"sinigang" and "adobo". Sometimes, "tinola" or "pesang dalag". If he liked a particular dish, that was all he would order, and that was all he would touch.

He travelled fast and dressed up with amazing speed. With his clothes all laid out, he could put on a tuxedo outfit in a couple of minutes.

* * *

It was remarkable how the late President Quezon could be the love and at the same time the despair of the boys of the press. When he was senate president, he gave the newshawks the free run of his house on Roberts street in Pasay. There were nights when we roamed the gardens of his home up to midnight while waiting for him to return from a party. No matter how tired and sleepy he was, he was always ready to listen to questions and give appropriate replies. He never believed in letting the press wait unnecessarily. He realized the boys were always in a hurry and was accordingly willing to accommodate. He would summon reporters to his dining room and give interviews while eating. It was not unusual for him to see newspapermen even in his bedroom when he was too ill to get up to see the boys.

I well remember one evening, during one of his informal press conferences when he interrupted himself in the midst of an announcement to congratulate me. I was taken by surprise and told him I did not know what the congratulations were for.

"I read in the papers about your election as vice-president of the Manila Press Club," he said.

You could not help liking a man like that. Thoughtful about such little things. I do not remember of any other

government official having taken notice of that election. Mr. Quezon's was the one and only official slap on the back I received for it.

But he was also our despair. Quezon had a temper as unpredictable as the elements. The quick-tempered Quezon when annoyed or irritated could freeze the boys of the press with one frigid look. He was one man I knew who could tell the entire press to go jump in the lake and get away with it. He had no inferiority complex. He did not mince words when he bawled out foreign correspondents for dispatches they had sent abroad which he did not like.

The press boys could easily detect it when such a storm was brewing. We could see it coming when his thick eyebrows met and his nose started to twitch. Even the most hardboiled senator would keep beyond shouting distance when he saw that signal.

I was a young reporter way back in 1925 when the late Tony Escoda, then city editor of the old **Philippines Herald**, assigned me to the legislative beat. That time, policy-making decisions were made at the caucuses of the Nacionalista Party held behind closed doors at the legislative building. Mr. Quezon had ordered that news about what took place at the caucus should come from him.

I stumbled upon a big story one day of what took place in the caucus. Mr. Quezon, from whom I was expected to get a confirmation, was nowhere in the building. But the source was reliable and the story was too good to hold. The **Herald** ran the story the next morning, for it was then a morning paper.

Later in the day, I was at my desk as usual at the press gallery in the senate session hall. The session was ready to start. I had no premonition of any approaching tornado. The next thing I knew, Mr. Quezon was shaking his right forefinger in my face.

In the presence of all the senators and a packed gallery, Mr. Quezon roared:

"Who the hell authorized you to publish that news in your paper!"

I remember having retorted rather weakly: "Mr. President, if the story was incorrect, we will run a rectification."

"I do not give a d—n if the story was correct. You have no business publishing it. I am going to tell your editor to remove you from here. I will instruct the sergeant-at-arms to bar you from the session hall!" he shouted.

There was nothing to do but to keep quiet and let him rave. When I reached the office later, I told Tony Escoda what happened. I suggested that he assign someone to the senate in my place, at least for the time being, until the storm blew over.

Tony Escoda said: "Do not let him scare you. When you get to know him better, you will realize he did not mean a thing he said."

I had my doubts. The gallery did not know that, and was I embarrassed! When I returned to the senate hall the next day, I avoided meeting the President. I took a back seat in the press box. Evidently, the sergeant-at-arms did not notice me. But when the session was over and I was heading for the door, someone put an arm on my shoulder. It was the President and he was greeting me: "How are you, Arizabal?"

It was said of the late President Quezon that he was a good enemy. I do not think he had any enemy at all. It used to amuse us to see President Quezon closeted with the former Senator Claro M. Recto, then minority leader of the Senate, either at his home in Pasay or at the Club Carambola, headquarters of the Nacionalista Party, going over a speech the President was going to deliver the next day. Sometimes, the speech took pot shots at Recto's party, the Old Democrata Party.

In a big political fight, he asked for no quarter and gave none. But after the battle was over, he was quick to admit defeat or claim victory and to give credit where credit was due. He was always ready to forgive and forget.

The Hare-Hawes Cutting Act split the old Nacionalista Party into two camps—the pros and the antis. Old Quezon men like the late President Roxas, Benigno Aquino, Laurel and Osias sided with the then Senator Osmeña in support of the measures. Besides them, there were such brains as the late Rafael Palma, then president of the University of the Philippines, and former Secretary of the Interior Teodoro Kalaw. Quezon was practically fighting them all singlehanded.

A group of businessmen headed by former Senator Ramon Fernandez, a very close friend of President Quezon, went to his house in Pasay and appealed to him to give up the fight as it may cause him his life.

Quezon said: "If it kills me, I will fight them all. This is the supreme test as to whether or not the people are with me."

It was a good fight. It was said that at the height of the campaign, Quezon told some friends that he could forgive Roxas and Aquino, but never Osias. The Ilocano solon was the noisiest of the campaigners on the Osmeña side.

Yet when Quezon won that fight, he left the door open for immediate reconciliation with the opposition. Roxas, who lost the speakership, was taken back into the government as head of the National Economic Council. Osias was drafted into the Department of Instruction and the rest, to the disgust of leading antis, occupied high posts in the government.

It can not be said of Quezon that he was not loyal to his friends, opinions to the contrary notwithstanding. There are those who maintain that Quezon would sacrifice a friend to attain an objective. Nothing could be farther from the truth. It is true that Quezon would not lift a finger to save a bosom friend from jail and disgrace if he had betrayed a public trust. He could not stomach dishonesty. He would

not tolerate graft, and would stand for no whitewashing of any investigation of officials involved in defrauding the public.

A friend who had contributed to his political campaign funds in the first election for President of the Commonwealth sought to get back his investment in the form of some concessions involving public interest. Quezon sharply reminded him:

"You are talking to the President of the Philippines now."

STORIES OF QUEZON *

By Amante F. Paredes

MODESTO D. BANTOLA, chief photographer of the Malacañan public information office, used to accompany the late President Quezon in his trips to the provinces. The incidents described below and the pictures accompanying this article come from him.

Once the late President and then Major Rafael Jalandoni went to a barrio of Casiguran, Tayabas, near Baler. The President had to be carried ashore by four sturdy natives. As the President reached the shore, nearly all the natives (Dumagats) ran off in different directions. He called the barrio lieutenant and the school teachers and told them to assemble all the people in the schoolhouse.

When all the barrio folks had gathered on the school ground, he addressed them in fluent Tagalog. "How can I determine your needs if you run from me, as if I were a monster? I have come here to help you, not to scare you. We are all Filipinos and provincemates at that. . . ."

Shouts of "Mabuhay ang Presidente" soon rent the air. To prove his friendship, he distributed money to the children of the Dumagats.

There was also the time when President Quezon motored to San Fernando, Pampanga, upon the invitation of the late Pedro Abad Santos. He was to hear the demands of the tenants for better reforms. The late Jose Abad Santos, secretary of justice and brother of the peasant leader, accompanied him.

Pedro Abad Santos first addressed the crowd in Pampango. Near the middle of the speech, President Quezon noted that the people were restless. So he asked Justice

* Reprinted from the **Philippine Free Press**, August 15, 1953, pp. 32, 40.

Abad Santos who was sitting beside him what his brother was saying. The late justice told him that his brother was exhorting the people to ask for reforms from the government. The President at once stood up and told the people in simple language about his social justice program.

In the course of his campaign for the presidency, Quezon went to Calapan, Mindoro.

When he arrived at the town's plaza where a sizable crowd had gathered, he noticed that there were placards being displayed which stated that they were all for his election as president of the Commonwealth government.

When he ascended the improvised platform, the first thing that he told the people was to remove those placards from his sight. He told them that he knew all the time that the province of Mindoro was in favor of General Emilio Aguinaldo or Monsignor Aglipay as chief executive of the Commonwealth government.

The crowd was surprised. The late President had caught the people off-guard that time.

He continued: "Even though you do not elect me as your President, I will be glad, for I will devote my time to working with the farmers and the common people. I want to share your hardships. I am a man of the soil, and ready to cultivate the vast tracts of land in Mindoro. So if you do not want me to occupy the presidential position, give me right now a spade or a hoe and I will live here with you as a common farmer."

Mindoro, known at that time to be an oppositionist province, voted heavily for Quezon.

Quezon was well liked by the Mohammedans. When he went to visit Mindanao, the people lined the road from Iligan to Dansalan to greet the highest executive of the land.

Then, he spoke to the crowd that had gathered at the plaza of Dansalan. A high-ranking official from the place interpreted the speech of the President. When President

Quezon said something that was contrary to the conventions of the Moros, the interpreter lowered his voice so the audience could not hear him. President Quezon noticed it. He castigated the official, and said that he would take all the risk if the people resented what he had just said.

The President traveled unescorted when he visited Sulu. He loved to watch the Moros dive for the coins that he threw into the water. He commented that the Moros are the "bravest, most agile swimmers in the country."

President Quezon was once moved to pardon 17 prisoners when he saw the craftsmanship of the prisoners in making a table. That table now adorns the reception hall of Malanan palace.

He commented: "These people should not be staying behind prison walls. They have talent for the improvement of native crafts in their respective towns."

These are but small incidents from the life of President Quezon as recalled by Modesto Bantola. But they help us to remember the vivid personality of the man whose birthday has been established as Citizenship Day, the man "who consecrated himself to the ideal of producing a citizenry conscious of its rights and obligations and worthy of the traditions of a sound and lasting democracy."

"LET GEORGE DO IT"*

By A. Oliver Flores

AS THE FIRST Executive Secretary of his country, Jorge B. Vargas was close eye-witness to the momentous events that characterized the Quezon regime. As the President's confidante, Vargas handled all official papers that passed from Quezon to any of his cabinet members. All Presidential proclamations were left to Vargas for implementation, a procedure which gave birth to the phrase "Let George do it".

Having been in the midst of the movement toward political emancipation, Vargas cherishes many moments with his long-time boss with the quick decisions and even quicker temper. The following account of a Malacañang incident Vargas considers the most illustrative of the famous Quezonian choler:

Every morning at six it was the habit of Mr. Quezon to go out for his favorite sport, horse riding. Since it took him almost an hour to prepare his riding togs, he made it a point to wake up an hour before he stepped out, or at five o'clock.

One morning the President's valet woke up his master to remind him that it was time to dress up. After the valet had left, Quezon looked around and noted that it was still very dark. In groping his way around the room the President stumbled on something and hurt himself.

"Adong!" he thundered. (Adong was the name of his Chinese valet.) The faithful butler came rushing back.

"What's the big idea of waking me up so early?" Quezon demanded.

The butler replied that he was merely acting on his master's order, that it was already five o'clock.

* Reprinted from the *Sunday Times Magazine*, December 3, 1967, pp. 27.

"Five o'clock?" the President growled. "It must be only four o'clock. See how dark it is?"

Adong said something about daylight-saving time. (Daylight saving time was a system in which clock were set an hour in advance. The idea was to give employes more free time after a working day, since they would be actually knocking off at four though their timepieces said five.)

Quezon strode to a telephone and called up Vargas in his residence in Mandaluyong.

"What's this daylight saving system all about?" the President demanded anew.

"But Mr. President, you signed the order only a few days ago."

"I did? On whose advice?" Quezon wanted to know.

"On Justice Secretary (Jose) Yulo's suggestion, Mr. President." Vargas answered.

"Have that d— thing revoked at once!" stormed the President.

Vargas "survived" many a Quezonian explosion during his term from 1936 to the outbreak of World War II in December, 1941, to become one of Quezon's most esteemed friends. When the President had to leave Manila to seek refuge in Corregidor during the Japanese invasion of the Philippines, he instructed Vargas to take over the helm of government. In intrnational law, only national officials of a conquered country are subject to capture and incarceration. To spare Vargas the order of confinement by the Japanese occupation authorities (the capture of Manila was imminent then), Quezon by telephone designated Vargas Mayor of Greater Manila. That made him a local official.

Later, Vargas was made chairman of the Japanese-sponsored Executive Commission. When the enemy went through the rituals of granting the Philippines her independence in October 1943, Jose P. Laurel was installed President. Vargas

was appointed ambassador to Japan. There, in a foreign country, Vargas heard of the death of President Quezon in New York, on August 1, 1944. He had not been unprepared for the tragedy. Back home, Vargas had a secret short wave which kept him informed of doings in the United States. Quezon's demise marked the end of a brilliant, if turbulent, era in Philippine politics. But to Vargas it was the end of a beautiful friendship.

QUEZON'S WAR WITH THE UGLY AMERICANS*

By Jesus V. Merritt

BENVENUTO CELLINI, the Italian philosopher and author, said it is a duty incumbent on the leader or heads of government "who have performed anything notable and praise-worthy to record on their own writings the events of their lives and times."

Of our Presidents, only Manuel L. Quezon appears to have partially complied with this duty. Quezon had written an autobiographical account, besides reams and reams of personal notes and correspondence of immense value to historical researchers, biographers and to posterity. In some unpublished notes and correspondences are bared hidden facets and complexes in his character and personality—revealing his "thickly forested interior," his inner tensions, the passion, peevs and obsession of his life. It seems curious that the few 'angry' private and personal notes and letters extant have largely dealt on his reactions toward American discrimination of Filipinos and his implacable hatred of persons who threw their weight around as members of a superior race.

Shortly before Henry Stimson came to the Philippines as governor-general, Quezon forewarned him of his animadversion toward certain type of American residents who had acquired the habit of looking down on the Filipinos and treating them in an extremely condescending fashion. He mentioned particularly the American old-timers who knew the Filipinos only as their old adversary in the Philippine-American war and the members of the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines.

Quezon told Gov. Stimson in a letter dated February 1, 1928: "This is not to say that there have not been Army

* Reprinted from the Sunday Times Magazine, August 15, 1965, pp 14-15.

officers who have rendered very valuable service to the Philippine Government. The names of Harbord and Bandholt stand out prominently and in a lesser degree Rivers, Hershey and a few others. The average army officer who has seen military service in the Philippine Islands, in the old revolutionary days or in recent times, had only known the Filipinos, in the first instance as his adversary in the field, and in the second instance his chauffeur, cook or muchacho in the barracks or Army post; with the result that in both instances, said Army officer had only acquired a feeling of contempt for the Filipinos; and to make it worst, their wives invariably share this feeling. And, by the way, Mrs. Dorey was known to be pronouncedly anti-Filipino."

Before Governor General Stimson left the United States to assume his new post in Manila, Senate President Quezon received the intelligence that the new executive was bringing along with him General Dorey, senior staff assistant during General Wood's administration. (Mrs. Dorey referred to above is the wife of General Dorey).

This infuriated the ailing leader and at a considerable risk to his health he jumped out of his bed to dictate a blistering note which may well go down as the "angriest" letter any American proconsul assigned to the Philippines had ever received from a native official.

Without any preamble, Quezon opened the letter with the following punch lines: "I am wrifing this because Senator Osmeña brings me words from you to the effect that you are thinking of taking General Dorey back to the Philippines with you. I spent the whole night pounding over this matter, and I have come to but one conclusion: **that if such a step is taken it will unnecessarily create an embarrassing situation.**" (Bold by the author).

Quezon went on to tell Stimson that the Philippine Legislature would be willing to provide an appropriation for the salaries of civilian advisers to the governor-general but not a dime for military men occupying civilian positions. He reminded the executive that the intervention of Army men

in the Philippine government was the major irritant that precipitated the break between the late Governor Wood and the Filipino leaders led by Quezon.

Further he added: "Senator Osmeña tells me that your reason for taking General Dorey along with you is to have someone explain to you the reasons why General Wood did this or did that. . . . But, why, may I be allowed to ask, is it necessary to bring into your administration controversial issues of the past?"

"Your own memorandum suggesting a compromise, properly counselled that the past be forgotten and a fresh start made. If you so advised us then, when it was difficult, humanly speaking, for warring parties to get together anew with a complete disregard of the past, why should you not take the same attitude now, when it was not only easier but more proper to do so, since yours is an entirely new administration?"

Then Quezon, in his own characteristic way, did the unprecedented thing: he sought to impose on the governor-general a condition precedent to the acceptance of General Dorey.

"I don't know," the Filipino leader said patronizingly, "how far you have gone in your plan of bringing General Dorey with you. If you have gone so far that you cannot retrace your step without inconvenience. . . . I would suggest that you take him (only) as your ADC (Aide-de-Camp). . . . although even this will be construed and badly received by the people."

Quezon who is known as an adroit political poker-player in the attainment of his objective went still further and added: "If you must take General Dorey, I believe, it would, perhaps, offset the disappointment of the people if Mr. Wright (Insular Auditor General) were at the same time, relieved from service in the islands." Auditor Wright, it may be remembered, was one more American whom Quezon genuinely hated for his alleged anti-Filipino stance.

When Quezon went to Washington to testify before the US congressional committees on a certain bill involving Philippine affairs, he was surprised to see Auditor Wright in the committee room.

Quezon was aroused like a March here and almost provoked an incident inside the committee room. In a strongly-worded letter dated Dec. 15, 1929, addressed to Gov. Stimson, President Quezon expressed surprise why "Mr. Wright has been permitted to come here and give us more trouble than he has given us in the past." "It seems to me," Quezon added, "that the Auditor General of the Philippine Government and, such a narrow-minded man as Mr. Wright is, should be the last one to advise the Government of the United States as to the policies to be adopted with reference to the islands."

In another letter two days later, Quezon said: "You can imagine how I was provoked at seeing him in the meeting of the committee. . . . I think Mr. Wright has the mania of greatness, a most dangerous state of mind for any official in a democracy, especially when dealing with a very sensitive people like the Filipinos. . . . I was perhaps a little bit too aggressive with Mr. Wright but I firmly believe that he has been more responsible than anyone else for the unfortunate relations between Governor Wood and the Legislature."

A year later, Quezon had another opportunity to demonstrate his almost obsessive dislike for Americans who had shown themselves to be anti-Filipinos. This was when President Hoover announced the appointment of Nicholas Roosevelt, author of the book, *The Philippines—A Treasure and a Problem*, as Vice Governor General of the Philippines. Quezon regarded the book as grossly offensive to the good name and racial pride of the Filipinos.

Quezon vigorously protested the nomination of Roosevelt and so vitriolic was the language he used that the Secretary of War, Patrick Hurley, in a cablegram to Governor Dwight Davis let it be known that President Hoover resented Quezon's utterances as "suggestive of efforts to embarrass the due exercise by the President of his power of appointment,

that they are peculiarly inappropriate, as it questions both the President's constitutional prerogatives and his judgment."

In a letter datelined 193, E. Hillerest, Monrovia, California, October 22, 1930, addressed to the Secretary of War, Quezon disavowed any intention on his part to challenge the power of the President to appoint whomsoever he chooses. "We are only exercising the right of petition," he said, "the use of which in this instance and in my case, considering the position I hold, becomes a duty, imposed alike by my loyalty to the Government of the United States and the people of the Philippine islands."

Then he added: "I would request you, Mr. Secretary, to realize how humiliating it will be for the Filipinos to have at the head of their Department of Public Instruction and, from time to time as acting head of their Government, one who has branded them as dishonest and deceitful, and how extremely embarrassing it will be for the Filipinos in public life to deal efficiently and socially with one who has written of them with contempt."

Nevertheless, President Hoover transmitted Roosevelt's appointment to the U.S. Senate for confirmation. But, Quezon personally campaigned among the American senators and succeeded in blocking the confirmation of the nomination.

HOW QUEZON HANDLED GOVERNMENT CROOKS*

By Rodrigo C. Lim

NOW THAT President Garcia seems determined to weed out the scoundrels in the government service who have brought disrepute to his administration, it may be interesting to delve a little into past history and recall how, in his time, the late President Quezon handled such crooks.

Being as old as the oldest profession in the world, graft was not unknown in the good old prewar days. It is true that the modern C.B. ten percenters, ACCFA tobacco upgraders, etc., were then unknown, but there were quite a number of get-rich-quick Wallingfords in the different branches of the government who enriched themselves through their positions.

Among others, there were judges and fiscals whose decisions were for sale to the highest bidders; P.C., and police officers who were on the payroll of vice operators; B.I.R. and customs men who, like their present counterparts, were leading princely lives through their under-the-table or **fuera mirar** operations, and others in various departments who were more concerned with making easy money than serving the public.

Although these grafting activities were not as scandalous as the postwar vintage, they were serious enough to deserve the attention of Quezon immediately upon his becoming president of the Commonwealth.

"I knew all about the racketeers in the service and was determined to get rid of them," the late chief executive said in his autobiography, **The Good Fight**.

M. L. Q. first made this determination known when, on the induction of Osmeña, Quirino and Alas as secretaries of

* Reprinted from the *Philippine Free Press*, March 26, 1960, pp 26, 28, 30, 32.

public instruction, interior and finance, respectively, he declared: "I expect this government six months from now to be the cleanest government that it can be made."

Now, how did the late President make good his word? How did he go about in his anti-graft war? Did he really go after the crooks without regard to personal or political considerations, or did he just play for the headlines?

As a newspaperman, at that time, I had numerous occasions to bring to his attention cases of anomalies involving high personages in the government, some of them among his best friends. Talking with me one evening shortly before his inauguration, he asked for my cooperation by furnishing him with such information as would help him in weeding out the leeches in the government.

"I will give no quarter to the crooks and grafters in the government," M.L.Q. told me with vehemence that night. "I will expect only one norm of conduct from public officials," he went on, "and that is absolute honesty and integrity. Any official found guilty of dereliction of duty or of enriching himself through his position shall be dismissed without ceremony."

Elucidating further, the late President explained that the moment he was morally convinced that a government official was corrupt or otherwise unfit to continue holding a public trust, out he would go.

Some of the incidents which I am revealing here for the first time show that Quezon was never disposed to compromise with crooks and grafters on the public pay roll; that in cases of conflict between his loyalty to his friends, relatives and political henchmen and his loyalty to his oath of office, he always placed the latter over and above the former.

A good example of swift Quezonian justice when it came to upholding the standard of morality in the public service is the case of a certain prosecuting attorney in the department of justice.

The fiscal, according to the writer's information, had received from the offended parties in a case he was prosecuting a check for P7,000, supposedly for the expenses of government witnesses. Because there was no way of checking upon the information, banking records being strictly confidential, I decided to pass it on to the President.

That was one of the few occasions on which I saw Quezon really mad.

"What business did this d—m fiscal have to get that money?" he asked.

Without further ado, he grabbed the telephone and asked for the president of the Philippine National Bank.

"Carmona, this is the President talking," M.L.Q. almost shouted into the telephone. "Take your pencil and paper. I want you to find out right now who cashed this check," and he gave the date, number, amount and name of the payee.

After a few minutes the presidential telephone rang and the bank official confirmed my information. The check was endorsed and collected by the fiscal himself. Quezon then took the phone again, this time to tell the undersecretary of justice: "I want District Attorney So-and-So to resign right now."

The following day the papers announced the resignation of the fiscal for reasons of "ill health."

The next case that comes to my mind was that of a Malacañang Clinic physician whom Quezon dismissed despite the intervention of his wife, Doña Aurora. This physician, who is incidentally holding a high government position today, was accused in court of abducting a young lady patient. Although the trial of his case was a front-page sensation for days, the debonair doctor-Romeo had not been suspended contrary to the general practice then of suspending officials accused of crimes involving moral turpitude.

I happened to mention the case while chatting with the President one day and, after hearing the facts, he took the telephone and called up the chief of the clinic.

"This is the President talking," he said, "I want you to dismiss right now Dr. So-and-So."

Quezon had hardly put down the receiver when his telephone rang.

"Pero, hija," I heard the president answer, "ese sin verguenza no debe estar un minuto mas en el servicio," which meant, "But, dear, this shameless fellow should not stay a minute longer in the service."

The President himself told me later that it was Mrs. Quezon who tried to persuade him not to be hard on the physician. But "no dice"—the doctor was canned the same day.

There was also the case of a justice of the peace from a central Luzon province whose proclivities for making easy money had been brought to Quezon's attention. When this J.P. learned that he was scheduled to be fired, he sought the help of a high church official, who asked for an audience with the President. As far as the President was concerned, however, there was nothing more to explain. There was ample evidence on file in Malacañang on the anomalies the J.P. had committed. So, despite the wire-pulling of the high church dignitary and of the J.P.'s brother who was a ranking official of the department of justice, the J.P. was kicked out of the judiciary.

Many prewar newspaper readers will undoubtedly recall the so-called immigration scandal that resulted in the mass suspension and, later, dismissal and transfer of practically all immigration officials and employees. Convinced after a quiet protracted investigation conducted by the Division of Investigation (D-I) of the venalities in the immigration office, Quezon one afternoon ordered the suspension of all the personnel, from the chief to the last messenger. The D-I was made to take over the office. The immigration chief then was the nephew of the President's wife, but that did not save him from being suspended and transferred to another office later.

Many will also recall perhaps the case of a bureau of commerce director accused of negligence. A private merchant had been authorized to import rice, free of duty, to relieve a shortage. It was understood that the rice was to be sold to the public at landed cost plus a certain margin of profit for the importer. To enable the importer to withdraw the rice from the customs, he had to get a certification from the commerce director as to the quantity authorized for importation. However, the importer wanted to make some extra money and brought in more than the authorized quantity, and the director certified the padded quantity. Had the fraud not been discovered by an alert customs examiner the government would have been cheated of thousands of pesos in revenues. Quezon immediately suspended the director, despite the latter's allegation that he signed the certificate without scrutinizing its contents. An ironical twist to the case was that the director received the notice of his suspension at the very moment that he was dressing up for a state ball in Malacañang. He did not go to the affair, of course.

Still fresh in my mind is the clean-up Quezon ordered in the bureau of customs and the Manila police department.

(The Manila customhouse then, as now, was a crook's paradise. Customs secretas, examiners, appraisers, etc., were living like Oriental potentates—with palatial mansions, flashy automobiles and *queridas*—on their P100 or P200 monthly salaries. Their thieving operations were an open secret and, without being told by intelligence operatives, the President knew just how they went about their illegal activities. In no time, without fanfare, the undesirables in the customs service resigned one by one, having been confronted with evidence of their venalities gathered by a customs survey board headed by then Secretary of Finance Miguel Unson, one of the most brilliant and upright men we have ever had in the government service. They were given the choice of resigning and sure dismissal. In almost all cases, they preferred to resign. Incidentally, a good many of them made good after they started anew in private life.

The Manila police department was also cleaned of its undesirable characters soon after Quezon entered Malacañang. Acting on presidential orders, then City Mayor "Amang" Rodriguez and the late Col. Antonio C. Torres, chief of police, had the record of each and every member of the department scrutinized. After an honest-to-goodness probe by a special investigator, Assistant City Fiscal Francisco Albert, the force was swept clean of crooked elements, from police rookies to captains and majors.

But the most memorable case in which Quezon showed beyond doubt that he held his loyalty to his oath of office over and above his loyalty to his friends, concerned one of his proteges, who was holding a key position in the Philippine National Bank. As general agent of another bank which was acting as trustee of a sugar central, this bank official was sued, with several others, in the Manila court of first instance by one of the central's directors. Part of the complaint charged him with having "committed a series of irregularities in the administration of said central which resulted in the plundering and looting of the central's funds and properties amounting to P72,766.65."

Quezon was indignant on reading a copy of the court complaint which I showed to him. Quivering with anger, he picked up the telephone and ordered the banker to come to Malacañang—immediately. The Manila business world was surprised when the newspapers the following day announced the banker's resignation because of "ill health". The President some time later told me that many of his friends had tried to persuade him to give the banker another chance—"but painful as it was, I had to stick to my decision. I could never subordinate the public interest to that of my friends," he explained.

Again comes to mind another case in which was involved the wife of a cabinet member then considered the closest to the presidential family. From the former "encargada" of the cabinet man's wife I got hold of a little notebook in which were recorded the usurious transactions of the latter with

market vendors. The President had just ordered an anti-usury campaign and I thought he would be interested to take a look at that little notebook.

After hearing the "encargada" explain the entries in the little book, Quezon called for one of his legal assistants (who became executive secretary after the war) and told him: "I want you to go to the bottom of this case and prosecute her criminally if necessary."

The legal assistant found the charges against the cabinet man's wife true but considered them insufficient to warrant the filing of a criminal complaint in court. Morally convinced of the lady's guilt after reading his assistant's confidential report, the President called the lady's husband and told him to resign. He would have been out of the cabinet had not the war broken out.

If there was anything of which Quezon was overzealous in protecting, it was the good name of his family and relatives.

My very good friend, the late Assemblyman Oppus, once told me the story of how Quezon called for him one day and asked him to reveal how much his (Quezon's) nephew, an assemblyman, had received from a mining group that was interested in killing a bill pending in the assembly.

"I do not care to know how much the other assemblymen received," the Leyte representative quoted Quezon as saying. "All I want to know is how much my nephew got."

There had been no money for the nephew, however, but the president's inquiry showed his concern for the good name of his family.

MY DAYS WITH QUEZON *

By Jorge B. Vargas

As told to Paulynn M. Paredes

"I HAVEN'T TALKED to anyone about President Quezon for publication in a long time," Jorge B. Vargas, President Quezon's executive secretary, told us as we interviewed him at his Kawilihan residence on Shaw Boulevard, Mandaluyong, Rizal, late last month.

Vargas, who is turning 78 this year, appeared fit for a man of his age. When we called on him, he was clad in tennis shorts and white shoes in preparation for his daily tennis game with friends at 4 p.m. that day.

Still showing traces of the brilliance that made him the President's closest friend, Vargas emphasized at the outset that "my only contacts with him (President Quezon) were on the official and government level."

"We were intimate to the extent of official business only. His private life I had no occasion nor was I expected to be involved with except as his personal requirements affected the office."

With a glimpse of nostalgia, Vargas fondly recalled the years he spent with President Quezon from 1911 up to 1941 when the Chief Executive had to flee to the United States after the Japanese invasion of the Philippines.

The mutual admiration between Quezon and Vargas began when the latter, an AB student at the University of the Philippines, wrote a lengthy dissertation on "The Philosophy of the Filipino Peasant." It was subsequently published in the *Free Press* and promptly stirred up a hornet's nest. The Archbishop of Manila, then a member of the UP board, demanded the investigation of the student for criticizing the church.

* Reprinted from the *Chronicle Magazine*, August 17, 1968, pp. 6-7.

"Nothing came out of it," Vargas recalled, "but it gave me a lot of publicity. When Mr. Quezon, who was then Resident Commissioner to the US, came back on one of his trips home, he looked for this fellow Vargas and thought of taking me back to the US as his secretary.

"However, because I was then an unknown provinciano with no connections, Mr. Quezon was persuaded to take in Maximo Kalaw instead. After the passage of the Jones Law (1916), Quezon returned to the Philippines and became President of the Senate. Among his first acts was to look for me again. Having finished my law then, I joined him."

When Quezon ascended the steps of Malacañang Palace in 1935 as President of the Philippine Commonwealth, Vargas was at his side. "It was a rather empty office we took over," Mr. Vargas recalled. "The American officials had taken away all the competent personnel and left us with no assistants to run the office."

It was under these circumstances that "we started, Mr. Quezon and I, the government of the Philippines."

Through the years, Mr. Vargas went about his duties on administrative and executive matters, learning in the process how to accept the President's impulsiveness and discovering the eccentric man's tender heart. Quezon, he said, handled political matters himself.

Mr. Vargas shook with laughter as he recalled an incident about the Daylight Saving Time. He said Malacañang rang him up at 4 a.m. and told him that the President wanted to talk to him. "Mr. Quezon was not in the habit of calling this early, so I was alarmed," Mr. Vargas recalled.

"George, what in hell is this idea of making 4 o'clock 5 o'clock in the morning?" Quezon's familiar voice thundered through the wires.

Mr. Vargas gently reminded him that it was through his presidential order that Daylight Saving Time was being implemented. "By Jove, you rescind this order right away!" Quezon bellowed back. And that, recalled Vargas with a chuckle, marked the end of Daylight Saving Time in the Philippines.

As it turned out, Vargas discovered that Quezon, who used to wake up at five for his early morning riding exercises, was roused by his valet at the stroke of five (Daylight Saving Time). Because it was still four a.m. (standard time) and dark, the President stumbled in his room as he groped for the switch. Impulsively, he called his secretary for an explanation.

"Mr. Quezon was very temperamental and very good at repartee," Mr. Vargas said, "but he did not have a sharp tongue. No, he was not ironical, satirical nor acid. He did not mean to insult anyone. You just had to get used to him, that's all."

Vargas then spoke about the dressing down he got in front of other people in Malacañang. "I immediately wrote a letter of resignation, sealed it in an envelope and handed it to the President. He immediately sensed it was my resignation. 'I don't want to receive that letter. I don't know what you are saying there. But I want you to stay,' Mr. Quezon said." And so Vargas stayed.

"At another occasion, a high-ranking government official apparently felt offended because it was I and not the President himself who gave him instructions. In anger, the official submitted his resignation thinking the President would not act on it. But the President divined the real reason and sent word to the official that he would accept it." His bluff called, the official withdrew his resignation.

Before his inauguration as President of the Commonwealth, Vargas recalled, there were many discussions between Quezon and the American High Commissioner on whether he would receive a 19 or a 21-gun salute and whether the High Commissioner would come to see Quezon first or vice-versa. He only got a 19-gun salute but the High Commissioner visited him first.

The marriage of Manuel Quezon and Aurora Aragon could not be more interesting than from a firsthand witness. "In December, 1918," Vargas began, "Mr. Quezon went to the

United States on the first Philippine Independence Mission. He went ahead with only a few of us to prepare the ground for the real Independence Mission. He took me, Manolò Nieto and several others. Accompanying us was Aurora Aragon, a cousin of the President who was tagging along.

"In Hongkong, we had to wait for a boat to bring us to the United States. It was at this time when the President called me and said, 'I have an appointment with the bishop at nine in the morning.' The next morning I came to his room to remind him. 'All right George, all right,' he answered. At 8:45 a.m., I went back. He was still in bed. 'Mr. President, you have an appointment with the bishop at nine o'clock.' All right George, all right."

"I was getting nervous because he might miss his appointment and I might get blamed. At five minutes to nine, I went back to his room and he was gone. None of us had an inkling about the purpose of his call on the bishop. Later, we learned that he went to see the bishop to ask him to officiate at his marriage. The bishop wouldn't marry him because he was a Freemason. He got mad and went to the American Consulate and asked the Consul to officiate. He came back to the hotel and asked Aurora to go with him to shop for clothes since they were going to the United States. She agreed and went with him. When we heard that Mr. Quezon wanted to get married, Dr. Bustamante, who was cooking some *adobo* for the group, almost dropped the frying pan in his hand. None of us had any idea whom the President was marrying. Personally, I thought his American sweetheart had come to Hongkong to marry him. We never suspected that it was the girl accompanying us that he would marry.

"We accompanied the President and Aurora in their 'shopping' and went straight to the American Consul's office. So he got married on December 14, 1918. After that, we had to start calling her Doña Aurora."

Vargas remembers asking if Mrs. Quezon had known that she was getting married then. She answered that they had

intended to get married sometime somewhere between Manila and the US but did know it would be in Hongkong. "Merely because the Bishop of Hongkong refused to marry him, he got married there," said Vargas. "The next morning, the bishop apologized and begged Mr. Quezon that he be allowed to marry them in church."

Vargas said Quezon was popular among the common people because he treated everyone equally. Vargas recalled the Social Justice Program which Mr. Quezon originated. He also cited the model farm Quezon put up in Arayat to find out for himself the correct relationship that should exist between landlord and tenant. Another project for the betterment of the Filipino was the authorization to hold the sweepstakes races for the benefit of the Philippine Amateur Athletic Federation, since both Quezon and Vargas were interested in sports. When Quezon, himself a TB patient, saw a lot of the tubercular cases at Quezon Institute, he included the hospital as a beneficiary of the Sweepstakes drive. "By the way," added Vargas, "the Sweepstakes Law included dog racing, too."

The unique partnership of Vargas and Quezon reached its peak in December, 1941, when the President was advised to leave the Philippines to avoid capture by the Japanese.

"MacArthur thought it unthinkable and shocking to the world for the President of the Philippines to be captured. President Roosevelt also said that the President should not be allowed to be taken prisoner by the enemy. MacArthur begged, argued, and urged the President to leave Manila and go to Corregidor which at that time was supposed to be impregnable. Mr. Quezon hesitated. He believed that it was his duty to stay with his people during this time of suffering. You must have seen pictures of meetings under the mango trees and in the air-raid shelter of his Marikina house."

The question was: Should he go? And if he went, who would go with him? Mr. Vargas and Manuel Roxas acted as the go-betweens for MacArthur and the stubborn Presid-

ent. "Mr. Quezon didn't want to talk to MacArthur. He didn't want to see him. He was nervous at this time."

Finally, he was prevailed upon to leave with his family and other government officials and aides. With a heavy heart he embarked for Corregidor the afternoon before Christmas and left the government in the hands of his trusted Executive Secretary—Jorge B. Vargas.

"I knew it was very very painful for him to leave at such a time," reflected Mr. Vargas thoughtfully.

Mr. Vargas could not go to Corregidor to see his Chief but he could communicate with him everyday by telephone. But then, on January 1, 1942, the Japanese entered Manila and all possible communication with Corregidor was cut off. The President and his family, together with Vice-President Osmeña, were subsequently brought by the US Armed Forces to the United States. The rest is history.

In the Vargas living room hangs a magnificent portrait of the "little President" sitting on the Presidential chair beside the President's desk. A comment on the masterpiece drew a sigh from Mr. Vargas.

"When Mr. Quezon left," he reflected with a distant look in his eyes, "I never expected that it would be the last time I would see him. I thought the war would be over in three months. Those of us who were left at home kept the President's office intact, anticipating his return. I myself held office here in my residence. I did not want to occupy Malacañang.

"Then the Japanese came and asked me to take over the office. I refused. But they told me that if I did not do so, they would occupy it themselves." Mr. Vargas paused to glance at the painting once more. "I had no choice," he said sadly.

Then, as if snapping out of his reminiscence, he added, "Would you include that?"

NOT SO LONG AGO *

By Jose E. Romero

AT THE BEGINNING of his term, President Quezon was obsessed with the idea of establishing an administration so honest and efficient that it would earn him the lasting recognition as a sort of George Washington of his country. More than this, he envisioned himself the leader of the whole South-east Asia region for emancipation and progress.

I remember once, during the birthday of Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, Mr. Recto asked me to go with him to see Mr. Romulo. He did not have his car and so he wanted to go with me in my car to call on our friend, who was then living in Malate. Shortly after our arrival, President Quezon also arrived to greet Mr. Romulo. There were just the four of us in that early evening, and President Quezon waxed eloquent in expatiating on his dreams for a future great Philippines, and a Philippines that would be the leading country in this part of the world. This latter dream was not farfetched. We were the first country in Asia to be liberated from colonial rule, and we had the benefit of a culture that combined the Oriental, the Western and the Latin. We had had quite a good training in democratic government for 35 years.

As already stated, President Quezon laid down as his policy "more government and less politics." He also enunciated the principle of social justice. In this connection, it might be said that this expression was by no means original with Senate President Quezon, as is generally supposed.

Governor General Frank Murphy, in his inaugural address, had used this expression, and obviously he was in turn influenced by Father Coughlin, the famous radio priest commentator of Detroit, the city of which Murphy was Mayor when he was appointed Governor General. Murphy, incidentally, was a Catholic. (Father Coughlin used this phrase

* Reprinted from the Examiner, July 7, 1964, pp. 6, 19, 26.

repeatedly. Although very eloquent, he was also somewhat radical. He attacked the Roosevelt administration and the Jews, and his case was even taken up to the Pope who, however, said that jurisdiction over the priest was exercised by his bishop. He was first chided by his bishop in a press statement, and finally silenced when he continued his radio broadcast.) One evening, at a caucus of leading assemblymen, which was also attended by Vice President Osmeña and Mr. Roxas, President Quezon suggested that the assemblymen should have an organization not on the basis of parties, but on the basis of their public record, excluding from it those of doubtful reputation. It was a ticklish proposition, as it was not easy to draw a line separating the sheep from the goats. As I shall later explain, this idea was not implemented.

President Quezon, who had a reputation for being dictatorial, and who was altogether the wisest and most experienced of our statesmen, could have had a cabinet of second-rate men, his personal favorites, who would do his bidding without question. However, he appointed to his cabinet only men of the highest reputation for ability and experience, men like Vice President Osmeña as Secretary of Public Instruction, Elpidio Quirino, Secretary of the Interior, Teofilo Sison, Secretary of National Defense, Ramon Torres, Secretary of Labor, Rafael Alunan, Secretary of Agriculture, Jose Yulo, Secretary of Justice, Jorge Vargas, Executive Secretary, Jose Gil, Assistant Executive Secretary, and others of equal standing and of impeccable and long public record of efficiency and integrity. No finer group of men could have been appointed.

It is a fact that President Quezon, who was then the greatest statesman of the nation, instead of having an overbearing self-confidence, was imbued with a deep sense of humility.

When he again threatened to break with Messrs. Osmeña and Roxas (happily this did not materialize), he once told his friends that when he assumed the position of President, he thought that he could not carry on the government without

the aid of these men, but that after some time in the office, he felt strong enough to carry on, if need be, without them.

In this respect, he followed the example of Abraham Lincoln, although when Lincoln assumed the Presidency, he was not outstanding in comparison with his colleagues, as President Quezon was. We will remember that President Lincoln appointed to his cabinet his rivals for the presidency—William H. Seward as Secretary of State, Samuel P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, Edward Stanton, Secretary of War, and other equally formidable rivals. In fact, in the beginning his cabinet adopted a patronizing attitude towards their President and we all recall the case when Lincoln submitted a proposal to his cabinet, which was opposed by the majority of them. Lincoln called for a vote. Almost everybody voted against him, whereupon Lincoln announced "The nays have it, but the motion is carried." After that the secretaries had more respect for him.

Some of President Quezon's successors who departed from his example have found to their regret what a drag on the Executive second-rate men in the cabinet can be. Instead of being able to devote their time to matters of high policy, these Presidents have to be continually rushing to the defense of their secretaries, who do not command general admiration and respect. As a result, they are always burdened by details. It is a sad thing for the public that when high officials start with a preconceived idea, they are not equal to the task, and that they have been catapulted into position of prominence just because they happen to be the fair-haired boys of the leader, or because they are close associates, or for other capricious reasons. The late President Kennedy appointed Secretary of Defense McNamara and Secretary of State Dean Rusk to the top-ranking positions in his cabinet without knowing them well personally, only on the basis of their record for getting things done, and for their ability and experience. He appointed Secretary of the Treasury Mr. Dillon, although he had served under President Eisenhower. President Roosevelt appointed to his cabinet, two leading Republicans during the war, namely Henry Stimson as Secretary of War and

Frank Knox as Secretary of the Navy. By their actions these Presidents earned the confidence of the public because these demonstrated that they were more interested in the welfare of the nation than in helping close associates, or in furthering their own future plans by putting in men whose primary concern would be to serve the political interests of their leader.

It is a sad thing when secretaries, even before they assume office, are already dubbed as mediocrities and become the subjects of ridicule. Nobody would have ridiculed such appointments as those of Osmeña, Alunan, Yulo, Torres, Sison—they commanded respect from all quarters. Their ideas were listened to with respect and they lifted a great burden from the President's shoulders.

However, since these chronicles try to be a truthful and candid record of the era they dwell on, it must be recorded that the idea of eschewing politics altogether was not, and probably could not, be perfectly implemented. I remember on one occasion, a certain assemblyman, a very partisan politician from Negros Occidental, complained to President Quezon about alleged unfair treatment his group was receiving. In the course of the recital of his complaints, he said, "I am an *anti* to the very marrow of my bones." When, upon hearing this, I saw the twinkle in President Quezon's eyes, I felt at once that the idea of grouping legislators according to their character and reputation was going overboard. Neither did President Quezon entirely give up his suspicions against possible rivals in the future, or taking precautions, considering his tremendous popularity and power, seemed hardly justified.

The first problem to come up along this line was the role that Vice-President Osmeña was to play in the administration. President Quezon wanted to maintain the best of relations with the Americans, since we still had an American High Commissioner and there were still many Americans working in the government, especially as teachers. The Director of Education was Dr. Luther B. Bewley, who is still with us. The Department of Public Instruction had always

been occupied by the Vice-Governor General before the Commonwealth, and as a gesture of courtesy to this office as well as to the many American teachers still serving in the country, President Quezon one day asked Director Bewley whether in the Director's opinion, Dr. Bewley's chief should be a prominent public official or one who rose from the ranks.

Dr. Bewley was very broadminded in his views on this subject. He said that while there are advantages in placing at the head of the department a man who had long experience in the work of education, still he had to deal with public officials and politicians, and that when these bureaucrats deal with them, they are somewhat awkward at it. He therefore suggested that the new Secretary of Education should be a man who was a prominent public figure, but who also had enough interest and experience in the work.

As narrated to me by Dr. Bewley, President Quezon said, "But where can we find such man?" Dr. Bewley mentioned me. We had been in close contact ever since I was chairman of the Committee on Public Instruction of the House of Representatives, his colleagues as ex-officio member of the Board of Regents of the University of the Philippines. Dr. Bewley said that President Quezon slapped his knee, and was greatly pleased with the idea. (In all these narratives I purposely mention the names of the participants, especially when they are still living, so that they might call my attention to any inaccuracies that may creep into these chronicles.)

When it came, however, to making the final decision, President Quezon felt that he had to give a cabinet position to his Vice-President, because, as he jokingly said with his droll sense of humor, "Otherwise the Vice-President will only be scratching his stomach and waiting for the President to die." He doubtless felt that the department where the Vice-President could exert the least political influence was the Department of Education, which up to that time had been fortunately kept out of politics. Also, as it turned out, he needed me more as Floor Leader of the National Assembly.

QUEZON'S GREATEST TRIUMPH*

By Benvenuto R. Diño

AT THE HEADQUARTERS of the Philippine government-in-exile, a suite on the third floor of the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C., President Manuel L. Quezon, who since early in the century had been fighting for his country's complete independence, formulated plans for the final round of what he called the "good fight"—which would achieve for him his life's greatest triumph. He was a very sick man; for him time was running out. It was autumn of 1943.

To him, Philippine independence was the only thing that mattered; it seemed everything else in this world—even life itself—was of little importance. Enhanced by the valiant struggle of Filipino troops in Bataan and Corregidor, his presence in Washington, he believed, should help bring about his country's liberation at the earliest possible time, and—above all—make the U.S. government come down to concrete terms for the implementation of Philippine independence.

There was no question of whether or not the Philippines was entitled to this privilege. The U.S. Congress as early as 1916 had passed the Jones Law committing the U.S. to grant independence to the Philippines "as soon as a stable government could be established. . . ."

The Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law later set forth a date for Philippine independence. Quezon had opposed that law for not guaranteeing "full independence." The law, in fact, provided for the retention of military and naval establishments by the U.S. after proclamation of the future Philippine Republic. Quezon argued that this should have been made subject to the consent of the Philippine Republic. Otherwise, he reasoned, it would destroy the very essence of Philippine independence.

* Reprinted from the Philippine Free Press, August 15, 1964, pp. 36, 38-39, 57-58.

Sought by Quezon, a substitute law was enacted—the Tydings-McDuffie Law—which provided that retention of military bases by the U.S. in the Philippines should be dependent upon the consent of the Philippine Republic. This new law further established July 4, 1946, as the date for the granting of independence. The Philippines, by the achievements of the Commonwealth, had shown that the country was capable of a stable, reliable and responsible self-government.

During the war, the Filipinos proved, by fighting for democracy, that they deserved fair treatment. It was a hard-earned position of prestige, paid in blood.

These were the facts that Quezon as President-in-exile sought to impress on the U.S. government. On June 2, 1942, shortly after his arrival in Washington, Quezon delivered a speech before the United States Congress. He practically demanded that the U.S. liberate and grant independence to the Philippines.

A standing ovation followed Quezon's address. The applause echoed far and wide in the land of the free and, as Quezon later commented, "The attitude of the American people toward the Filipinos has greatly changed. The Filipinos were often abused in the past. But the stock of the Filipino is higher now than before Bataan."

Undoubtedly, Quezon had great faith in U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Roosevelt's wartime promise that "the Philippines would be redeemed and her independence established and protected" were words that Quezon made his own.

Quezon threatened to resign as President-in-exile of the Commonwealth when he learned that the U.S. was planning to by-pass the Philippines in the counter-offensive against Japan. He learned of the plan through the grapevine during former Governor-General Forbes' visit at his temporary headquarters in Miami Beach, Florida. Fuming, Quezon thundered: "Governor, if that is the case, I shall dictate a telegram to the President of the United States, in your presence." Then,

still fuming, Quezon dictated: "If it is the policy of the higher authorities to by-pass the Philippines, delaying the liberation of my people, my services as President of the Philippine Commonwealth government-in-exile, would be useless and futile. I hereby request that such plans should be changed, in favor of an earlier effort to reconquer the Philippines. Otherwise, I resign from my post as of this date."

Days later, a telegram was received from Washington: "Your request granted—sgd. F.D.R." This was shortly after the U.S. Congress legislated that Quezon should continue in office, contrary to a provision of the Philippine Constitution limiting Quezon's tenure of office to only eight years. Yet, Quezon appeared more than ready to relinquish that hard-earned extension of power. His threat led to an emergency meeting of the Pacific War Council, which abandoned long-prepared plans and drafted new ones for the sake of the President-in-exile of sixteen million people who had earned their birth-right with blood.

Quezon's threat was ostensibly a bluff. "You know poker, Diño," he once said to me. "In politics, when you know that the stakes are high, but you see that your cards are good, you raise the stake and you grab the booty." Quezon's bluff evidently proved effective. He would have made good that bluff, because of the high stakes—his people's liberation.

The successful bluff proved, too, beyond all doubt, that Quezon was in a good vantage position to bargain for his country. This vantage position was clearly shown in a closed-door conference held on October 10, 1943 at the presidential suite on the third floor of the Shoreham Hotel. The meeting was called to discuss the date of Philippine independence.

The statesmen sent by President Roosevelt to deal with Quezon on that sunny October morning were met by Col. Manuel Nieto, presidential aide, and Gen. Basilio J. Valdes, and led to the living room where Quezon awaited them, perched on a stack of pillows, on the narrow bed that was his office.

There was no question as to the nature and the granting of Philippine independence. The date, too—July 4, 1946—had long been approved by an act of the U.S. Congress. But now there was a move among U.S. policy makers to postpone the date because of the war and the Japanese occupation.

Quezon, fighting against an old enemy—tuberculosis—realized that here was another fight looming up. "Why," he asked, "despite all the efforts we have made in this war, should the independence date be again postponed?" He called the move "sloppy and ridiculous."

There was no question, however, that Quezon would use all his skill in this fight. He summoned up all the strength left in him, although it might greatly hasten his death. Quezon prepared himself by devouring books such as "My Appeal to the British" by Mahatma Gandhi and a collection of Churchill's speeches. At the same time he devoured Hayden's *The Philippines—A Study in National Development*, to weigh and measure just exactly what the Americans thought of the Filipinos. As Quezon sat there for interminable hours, and I read these books aloud to him, he would gaze at the ceiling, considering possibilities and counting his assets.

There was no doubt at all that the prestige earned by the Filipino people by their brave stand in Bataan and Corregidor were the two aces in his hands. He knew, too, that U.S. pledges were two sparkling kings. What about the unopened cards on the table? He weighed all possibilities with care.

Poker, which Quezon played with skill and charm, was inevitably what Quezon had in mind as he gazed up at the white-washed ceiling of his Shoreham bedroom. Suddenly, he would break into a smile and interrupt my reading. Unwillingly perhaps to tell me outright, he would bid me to continue. Finally, one night, he told me: "I shall lead them into the trap. Then I shall raise the stake and call all their bluffs. Just wait and see."

Quezon, of course, knew what his opponents would do. He had friends among them, whose idiosyncrasies he knew. Some of them could be relied upon to support him. There was Henry L. Stimson, secretary of war, former secretary of state and governor general of the Philippines. There was Senator Hawes, co-author of the abortive Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law, who was now a very close confidant of Quezon.

Quezon banked, too, on his Washington experience as former Resident Commissioner. Said he: "You know, all the best they (the Americans) have got there are known to me. I have heard them in debates; I have conversed with them in cloak rooms. I have been with them in formal parties and informal bull-sessions. I have discovered many of their faults and measured their weaknesses. My six years as Resident Commissioner were a training period for me and I think I can handle them."

Confident and smiling, Quezon awaited Roosevelt's emissaries on that sunny October morning. Earlier, Quezon had told me: "I want you to take shots of this historic conference. I want a document of it preserved for posterity." I prepared my 166 mm. movie camera and waited.

First came well-groomed, well-fed Judge Samuel Rosenman, President Roosevelt's special adviser. Carrying a brown leather briefcase, the stocky Rosenman had the air of a Wall Street executive coming to deal on behalf of his firm—the United States government. The deal involved 115,707 square miles of real estate called the Philippine Islands.

Following him, also escorted by Gen. Valdes and Col. Nieto, was hawk-nosed, leathery-faced Secretary of interior Harold Ickes. With him was his reliable aide, Undersecretary Fortas, who was in charge of territories and insular possessions.

Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, Quezon's old friend, was ushered in. Slim and old, he still carried that stamp of patriarchal authority that he had when he was the fatherly governor general of the Islands. With him was Millard E.

Tydings, the suave senator from Maryland. Dressed in a cutaway suit the co-author of the Tydings-McDuffie Law seemed groomed for a very important state occasion.

As Quezon's guests were shown to their seats, I took my place near Quezon's bed, toward the window. The President introduced me: "Gentlemen, this is my doctor." Rosenman saw my movie camera and protested: "This is supposed to be a closed-door conference." Quezon smilingly assured the worried White House adviser: "Don't you worry. I assume the responsibility."

The conferees took their seats arranged about Quezon's bed. Quezon looked like the seasoned poker player that he was as he regarded his guests. I pressed the trigger and my camera started to whirr.

Judge Rosenman took out of his briefcase a piece of paper, which he read. It was a message from President Roosevelt saying, among other things, that Philippine independence would be granted after the Japs were driven out of the Islands. It further mentioned that military, air and naval bases would be retained in the Philippines, after the war. Hearing this, Quezon braced his elbows against the pillows behind him and proceeded to make a few remarks.

Quezon, as it were, began to deal out the cards. He recalled that when President Roosevelt invited him to leave the Philippines at the outbreak of the war, General MacArthur told the US president that if Quezon should leave the Islands, Filipino resistance would automatically collapse. Thereupon Quezon wired Roosevelt that he would go instead to some unoccupied territory, from where he could tell Premier Tojo to get out of the Islands. At that time, Tojo was making overtures about offering independence to the Philippines. It was his intention, Quezon further explained, to test Tojo's sincerity.

This was the secret strategy in Quezon's mind during those dark days on Corregidor. And here was Quezon revealing this secret for the first time. Quezon said that had Tojo

proved sincere, he would have requested President Roosevelt to pull out the American troops in the Philippines. With neither Japanese nor American troops present in the Islands, Quezon would have requested Roosevelt to declare the Philippines independent. Roosevelt, however, said no to this strategy. Independence would have meant neutrality as a Philippine policy, and non-involvement in the conflict that was then enveloping the Pacific area. Quezon abided by Roosevelt's decision and chose to go into exile.

Quezon said: "I have no objection to having our independence after the Japs are driven out of my country. However, the Independence Law has fixed the date on July 4, 1946. According to the Independence Law, we should be independent by that date, whether the Japs are driven out or not."

Stimson said: "My greatest concern here is that I am worried that this immediate independence would have an adverse effect on the Filipinos." Stimson then gave the gist of his previous conferences with President Roosevelt. He said that if independence was given while the Japs were still in the Philippines, the Filipino people would think that they were being abandoned because their independence had neither security nor protection.

Stimson's explanation was cut short by Quezon who snapped: "Governor, are you through?"

Stimson answered: "I still have more to say."

Quezon said: "You know that I have fought the whole world for you. When the question is about the effect of independence on the Filipinos, I am the man qualified to know that, more than any American or Filipino, I know the desires of my people. And besides, why should the element of Japanese presence in the Philippines be considered when, even if the war outlasts the year 1946, we shall be independent just the same, Japs or no Japs?"

It was Rosenman's turn to speak. "That is a very important point. Why should we think of the Japs' presence in the Philippines? If, even with the Japs still in the Phil-

ippines, we have to give them their independence, why don't we give it now?" Apparently, Rosenman was already batting for Quezon.

Tydings said: "I should like to talk for only three minutes to make my position clear." Then the senator from Maryland recalled his conferences with President Quezon and with President Roosevelt.

Rosenman cut in: "What about the military reservations?"

Quezon snapped: "If you yourselves include that provision, the independence of the Philippines will be like that of Manchukuo. Let me ask you to put it there. I shall assume responsibility. If you agree, we can remove the thirty days' time and say that the date of independence will be decided by negotiation or conference between the U.S. president and the president of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, providing for the air and naval bases for the security and mutual protection of both the Philippines and the U.S. as well as the maintenance of peace and order in the Pacific."

Quezon's point was clear and decisive. If the provision for the retention of U.S. bases in the Philippines after her independence was included in the resolution without the consent of the Philippine government, it would be tantamount to having a puppet-style independence.

Quezon vindicated the rights of Philippine sovereignty. For, if the provision about military bases were to be included in the resolution only upon the behest and invitation of President Quezon himself, the position of Philippine sovereignty would be greatly enhanced. It would imply recognition of the technicality that U.S. bases were in the Philippines only upon the consent of the Filipinos themselves.

The emissaries of President Roosevelt certainly never expected to be outmaneuvered but Quezon had them cornered, on their own grounds, using their policies and rules against them.

It was agreed by everybody present that the date of Philippine independence should be honored, regardless of Japanese occupation; and that American military and naval bases should be retained in the Philippines after independence, but on the behest of the Philippine government itself, for the mutual protection of both the P.I. and the U.S., as well as for the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Having lost the battle against the formidable bargainer that Quezon was, Ickes excused himself and left hurriedly to catch a train.

Quezon, with an air of self-confident apology, told Tydings: "I defeated the law brought by Osmeña and Roxas. But I will assume responsibility." Tydings understood, for he was the co-author of the law Quezon had sought, for a better deal. "I know," answered Tydings, smiling. They were great friends, undoubtedly.

After brisk pleasantries, the Americans left the scene of what was a conference debacle for them. Outside the presidential apartment, War Secretary Stimson said to his companions: "What is important is to save the life of that man." Perhaps the Americans hoped to be able to deal with Quezon again and outwit him in another round. Indeed, the value of Quezon's life was never more appreciated by the Americans than when they saw that he was a man to beg from—not a man to bargain with.

Back at the Shoreham, there was some back-slapping as Vice-President Osmeña assured his life-long opponent and rival: "*Este es el mejor triunfo de su vida.*"

It might be objected that Quezon employed arbitrary tactics. No one doubted, however, that Quezon's actions were sincere, motivated as they were by an incomparable nationalism that his people would long remember with pride and gratitude.

Indeed, the members of the Philippine government-in-exile had reason to congratulate themselves as they shared the triumph of their ailing president. However, there was no room for unalloyed rejoicing, for if Quezon was able to achieve this unprecedented victory, it was because of the

strength of his legacy—the good name and prestige won by Filipino heroes is Bataan and Corregidor, men whom we could never forget.

QUEZON'S PARTING WORDS*

By Jesus A. Villamor

THE FIERY SUN had set more than two hours earlier. By now, I felt sure, it had dawned on another part of the globe—one where I wanted so much to be.

It was December 4, 1943. I was aboard an overworked airliner enroute to Washington, D.C. Its estimated time of arrival, according to the schedule, was forty minutes from the moment I handed an empty cup of coffee to the pretty flight stewardess. I don't recall now how many I had drained since we left Chicago, Illinois, but this was certainly the umptieth since we left San Francisco, California, ten hours ago.

"You won't be able to sleep tonight," she said, smiling prettily.

"Oh, I think I will," I answered her.

I wanted to add that if I could not sleep that night it would not be because of the coffee but because of the many things on my mind. But, that, I knew, although true, would be a foolish thing for me to say to such a charming girl who was only trying to be friendly.

Outside it was indigo blue. More than a mile below us lay thousands of tiny, yellow lights many of which flashed staccato messages to the luminous stars shining above.

Inside the airplane it was bright and lively. Each of my predominantly distinguished looking fellow passengers must have had something important to do in Washington—it seemed we were all traveling on "priority tickets." But the conversations were light, witty at times, stupid at other times, and, as would be expected because of the somber times, inconsequential.

* Reprinted from the Sunday Times Magazine, April 19, 1964, pp. 20-23.

None of the passengers asked me to show him or her the contents of my Air Corps "navigation kit"—which served as my brief case—and which I held close to me all the time, if anyone had done so I would have turned the request down. And if they had asked why and what were the contents, I would have answered unabashedly: "Dirty Laundry!" Actually the kit contained a copy of a highly classified report I had submitted less than a week before to the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in the South West Pacific Area: General Douglas MacArthur.

No one asked, either, why I was going to Washington. If anyone had I would have said I just wanted to get lost in the Pentagon. The truth was that I was to deliver in person that copy to the exiled President of the Philippine Commonwealth: Manuel L. Quezon.

Nevertheless, some odd questions were asked me by some fellow passengers. One, for instance, asked if I was really in the United States Air Corps since I was wearing its uniform with all the appropriate insignias. I answered sarcastically but in a serious tone, no; that I was really with the Japanese Air Corps, was shot down and held as a prisoner for many months and had just recently escaped. I was looking at him straight in the eyes as I said that. He kept quiet and quickly went back to reading the magazine he had in his hand.

Another curious passenger asked if I had been in Bataan. When I asked her where Bataan was, she replied with great fervor: "Why there where they fought like mad for you and me." After a few seconds when she caught her breath again, she added with unconcealed disappointment of a frustrated eager-beaver: "I had hoped you were there too."

I closed my eyes for a moment, opened them again then looked at her icily. That ended our conversation and killed any chance of our becoming acquaintances.

Our landing at Washington National Airport was normal for those feverish days—two or three sprightly bounces and

the sound of tires screeching nervously as if the plane was telling the pilot, in a language only aviators understand, "you can't do this to me."

At the bustling terminal a message waited for me. I was to take a limousine to the Shoreham Hotel. This was there, I had been told, President Quezon and his family were staying. At the Shoreham's reception desk another message was handed to me by the very-correct clerk. It said for me to "rest" that night and to call on President Quezon anytime the next day.

I took the message literally; I slept till almost one the following afternoon. Then, after a refreshing shower and a delicious lunch, I walked up to the president's suite in the east wing. In my hand was the report which I had taken out of the navigation kit but was still inside the double-envelope which had been sealed in Brisbane, Australia, where the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Allied Command in the South West Pacific Area (SWPA) was located at the time.

Even if I may have appeared cool and at ease externally, I was quite tense and jittery inside. My greatest concern was: in what way would Quezon react?

Manuel L. Quezon was one of those magnetic, especially-endowed leaders every country is blessed with at one time or another. A dynamic personality, he brought unity to the Philippines and lighted the fire of energy in his people. What makes him unique and outstanding is that his popularity was not whipped up by outsiders. He needed no professional experts to apply their Madison Avenue techniques of propaganda and personal build-up.

He knew the problems and he attacked those problems in his own ways. Right or wrong, as only future generations would find out, the fact is Quezon, like other great national leaders, had clear-cut objectives and relentless drive for their attainment.

Most Americans who knew him personally liked Quezon. A few did not. But whether Americans knew him or not, and

whether they liked him or not, he was universally respected by Americans who had dealings of one sort or another with the Philippines.

This meeting in Washington was not the first one I was going to have with the great Filipino President. I had had that honor many times—including the several times I saw him in Corregidor whenever I visited that island fortress from Bataan during the early part of 1942. The last time I saw him though was more than a year earlier—around the middle of 1942, shortly before his departure from Melbourne, Australia, for the United States.

But it was at this talk we were scheduled to have—this crisp, wintry afternoon of December 5, 1943—that I knew we had to tackle things which were far more serious than those “plans” we last discussed in Australia for the development of aviation in the Philippines “after the war”—as if the war then were already nearing its end! This time I knew there was no need for pretenses as we actually had to talk about matters which literally affected, in one way or another, almost everyone in the Philippines.

I was met at the door by Estefania “Fanny” Aldaba (now the widow of Luis Lim who was killed in an airplane crash in Mindanao about two years ago), a charming and very talented friend of the Quezon family. Her warm and friendly greeting was a prelude to a hearty welcome extended to me by the family and members of the staff of the President who were gathered in the suite at the time. After many handshakes and embraces—including those from Ah Wong, the excellent cook and trusted companion of the Quezons—and amidst the noise from a barrage of questions from everyone, word finally came that the President was ready to see me.

President Quezon was in his room, sitting up in bed. I had known, of course, that he was ill but I had no idea how really sick he was until I saw him. It seemed that the tuberculosis which had been plaguing him for many years had finally gotten the upper hand. Despite his illness, the smile he displayed in seeing me showed he still had plenty of fire.

My first minute alone with the President and Mrs. Quezon who had led me to the President's room completely erased any doubt which I may have had regarding the way the dynamic President would react to what I was set to tell him. Despite the stark, hospital-like appearance of his room, something heart-warming permeated the atmosphere the moment we shook hands, and I immediately lost all my misgivings.

After a touching welcome from the President, the ever-thoughtful Mrs. Quezon right away asked to be excused—"Since I know you two have many important things to talk about," she said smilingly as I escorted her to the door.

As soon as Quezon and I were alone in the room, I handed him the large Manila envelope which contained the 70-page, "legal-size," copy of my report to the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in the SWPA.

"Mr. President," I said without any trace of emotion, "this is a copy of my report to General MacArthur about the situation in the Philippines. I was instructed to tell you that this is for your eyes only."

Quezon accepted the envelope without a word. He looked at it as if he were trying to guess what was inside. Then he smiled and his thin, drawn face lit up.

"I am sure there is going to be a lot in this," the President finally remarked as he held in his two hands the still-sealed envelope.

I merely nodded my head.

"Let me see it," he said, giving the envelope back to me.

I quickly opened both the outside and inside envelopes and, wordlessly taking the report out, handed it to him.

This was the report I had written upon arrival in Australia after having spent the first ten months of 1943 in the Philippines as head of the first group of the Allied Forces to return to the Pearl of the Orient Seas which had been devoured by the armed might of Japan.

I had volunteered for this mission after I learned that the High Command of the Allied Forces knew absolutely nothing of what was going on in the Philippines at the time. After volunteering for the assignment, I was immediately transferred from the Air Corps to the newly-created Allied Intelligence Bureau (AIB) which was under the Chief of Intelligence (G-2) of GHQ, SWPA.

A few months later, after extensive training and elaborate planning, I led the group—called The Planet Party—that was to make that unfrogetable landing from the submarine USS *Gudgeon*, on the southern coast of Negros on January 14, 1943. Ten months later I was taken by another US Navy submarine back to Australia.

Quezon immediately opened the volume and started reading the table of contents which listed the subjects under each of the six major parts of the report.

Part I contained a summary of intelligence reports regarding enemy forces then in the Philippines. Part II covered a review of guerilla forces which existed in practically all parts of the country. Part III covered civil affairs in enemy occupied areas. Part IV was on civil affairs in the free areas. Part V discussed the *modus operandi* of intelligence nets of the enemy and of guerilla forces. Part VI included miscellaneous matters such as the status of prisoners of war and of American internees, as well as the situation regarding foreigners—Chinese, Spanish, and others.

After he went through that list, the President, still silent, leafed through the volume stopping here and there to read something which apparently caught his interest. It was while he was silently leafing through that report that I had a chance to observe him.

What I saw frightened me. He was painfully thin and pale and the devastating effects of his illness were so clear I could but wonder, with a heavy heart, if he would see the end of war.

Finally he got to the last page of the report. There the President stopped and read—probably more than once, considering the length of time it took him—the concluding words which I had written while thinking of the gallant efforts of so many unknowns.

I had often heard of Quezon being a tough hombre. And I believed it without question. So it astounded me to see mist in his eyes as he closed the volume and laid it down.

He laid his head back on the pillows propping him up, but did not speak. With the tips of the fingers of his right hand he stroked his forehead. Then, after what seemed like at least half an eternity, he turned to me and asked: "Did General MacArthur read this report?"

The question startled me. In preparing for my trip to Washington, and all throughout the journey from Brisbane, Australia, I had thought of just about all possible questions Quezon might ask me. And I prepared myself with all the facts and recollections possible so that I would be able to answer without hesitation any question. But I never thought he would ask me a question like that!

My heart sank. "I don't know, Mr. President," I replied truthfully.

It was only when the President asked me pointblank if the Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces in SWPA had read the report that I realized the core of it all probably lay in the answer to that simple question. It was obvious that seriously ill as he was, Quezon's mind was as razor-sharp as it had always been, and that what he had long been noted to be—a man who could see clearly through the fog of confusion—was as applicable at that moment as it was throughout the years.

Quezon apparently perceived how disheartened I was at the thought that there was a possibility General MacArthur had not even seen my report.

"It's not your fault," he said. "I know who in headquarters can make it hard for you for being a possible stumbling block to their post-war aims."

I did not speak. My mind was still so troubled with the dire possibility that Quezon's question provoked that I did not get the full meaning of his statement till sometime later.

"Go now," he told me, as he settled back, giving the impression he wanted to rest, "forget all this and just enjoy yourself. I will see you tomorrow."

After that first day, Quezon and I had numerous talks regarding the whole situation in the Philippines. He read my report diligently. For obvious reasons he was especially interested in the part that covered guerrilla forces and civil affairs in both enemy-occupied and free areas. Again and again he expressed great regret that he was not in the Philippines. It was obvious he deeply felt the fact that he had had to leave the people when they needed him most.

There was no doubt in my mind that despite his physical deterioration, Quezon's eagerness to do everything possible for the Philippines was undiminished. For example, I vividly remember how in talks about what he planned to do in the future for the welfare of the people, Quezon was always charged with excitement.

But what concerned Quezon most was the way Philippine affairs were being handled by some key men in GHQ, SWPA. He, of course, could perceive with ease, in clarity and in depth, what a young, fully devoted but amazingly naive military officer like me found too sweeping to comprehend. I, for instance, was completely appalled at how some individuals, wearing the same uniform I was proud to be in, and who held such high and responsible position in GHQ, could remain so callous as to veritably treat like putty so many who were engulfed in life or death struggles throughout the length and breath of the Philippines.

Quezon and I talked at length about the matter during many of our meetings. But if I was disturbed to the point of demoralization, Quezon, on the other hand, was vexed to the point of infuriation. Many years later—about a decade and a half really, the time the Pentagon let me go through many valuable documents—I found out that someone I had

with the great President of the Philippines. A great tide of sadness swept over me.

Suddenly I heard someone call: "Jess."

I turned and saw through some bushes a figure walking towards me. A moment or two later I recognized Serapio Canceran, the debonair and efficient private secretary of President Quezon.

"The President wants to see you," he said.

I didn't say anything. I merely started walking in his direction. Apparently Canceran had seen me wipe my eyes with a handkerchief which I had pulled out of my pocket.

"What's the matter," he asked.

"Nothing," I replied, rather sharply.

Wordlessly we walked towards the mansion which, from the exterior, looked like a small replica of Malacañang, although inside it was a poor substitute. Canceran knocked softly on the door of the President's room and, as if he knew an answer was not necessary or not to be expected, he opened it and entered. With his hand still on the door knob, facing the President, he said, "Sir, Major Villamor is here."

"Good," I heard the President say.

Canceran turned to me and nodded a signal for me to enter. As I walked past him, Canceran stepped out and I heard him close the door behind him. No one else was in the room.

"Good afternoon, Mr. President," I said as I paused, a few feet from his bed where a number of pillows propped him up in a sitting position.

Quezon smiled and pointed to a chair which I moved closer to his bed before sitting down.

"You are leaving this afternoon, aren't you?"

"Yes Sir."

"One last thing," he said, proudly pulling himself to as erect a position as his waning strength would allow him.

"I want to tell you something now, Villamor," he said slowly and solemnly, "which I don't want you to ever forget." His dark eyes blazed.

"I won't forget, Mr. President," I assured him, my whole being tensely awaiting his next words.

"Tell our people when you get back," he said, leaning towards me as if he wanted to make sure none of his words would fly away, "those—in headquarters will not get away with making fools of them!"

A spasm of coughing suddenly overcame him and his whole body shook: I was then on the edge of my seat as I helplessly watched him burning with anger and pain. After a long while, the coughing subsided.

He continued, his voice trembling with emotion: "I will not let anyone wreck the future of our country."

His words were like volcanic explosions inside me.

"Yes sir," was all I could say as I stood up, choked with feeling.

I immediately felt a change in me. Those sparkling words of his came like rubies and diamonds to me. My lagging hopes suddenly burst aflame again.

We talked on for a few more minutes. I must admit, however, that my mind kept running back to his stirring instructions to me. And I think he knew that it had made a very deep impression on me because at the end, he clasped my right hand in both his hands as tightly as he could.

"I swear to you, Villamor," he said gravely, "I won't let our people down."

"I know you won't, Mr. President," I said, my heart beating as if it wanted to burst.

Quezon smiled. "Good-bye, Villamor," he said, softly.

"Good-bye, Mr. President," I replied as I stepped back. A few feet from his bed I stopped, snapped to attention, clicked my heels and saluted.

He nodded. I brought my hand down. I turned and, without a word, left the room.

I never saw President Quezon again.

And his words never reached the Philippines. For there were some people in GHQ who saw to it that I would not be able to get back to the Islands for the rest of the war. And this despite the efforts of others in GHQ—including some who were in very high positions, like General Charles A. Willoughby who had wanted me sent back to the Philippines as soon as President Quezon was through with his talks with me.

Quezon died before the glorious return, in knee-deep water on the shores of Leyte, of the unsurpassable General Douglas MacArthur. On that day I was again in Washington, D.C. (Hollandia, New Guinea was the farthest I got in my "return") where I had again been sent on "temporary duty."

That evening I was in one of the cocktail lounges of the same Shoreham Hotel where Quezon and I had many memorable talks. I tried to drown then the memories and the thoughts that kept plugging in my mind. And I remembered vividly my last talk with the great Quezon and his stirring last words which never reached their destination.

QUEZON THE UNKNOWN*

By Jose A. Quirino

MANUEL LUIS QUEZON, the star of Baler, was great not only because of the big things he did but also of the small things he performed with characteristic elan.

Quezon learned his principles of life from his parents, Lucio Quezon and Maria Dolores Molina, both of whom were schoolteachers earning P12 a month. At the tender age of five, Manuel learned the catechism and how to pray the rosary from his mother. His father taught him certain principles which the fiery leader applied in later years.

One day, young Manuel was walking in the rice fields of Baler with his father. Don Lucio, as was his wont, was advising his son about certain pitfalls in life. To illustrate one of his points, Don Lucio pointed to a field of palay and said: "See those stalks, my son? They are straight yet grainless. On the other hand," he added, pointing to another field, "those stalks are bowed but full of grain. People are like rice stalks. Those who are proud and walk with heads high are the worthless ones, while those who are humble and walk with bowed heads are the real great."

Manuel's mother wanted him to be a minister of God. For this reason, he first took up theology at the University of Santo Tomas in 1902. But he shifted to law when the theology professor, a priest who was aware of Quezon's reputation as a lover and a rabble rouser, said upon seeing the young man from Baler: "What are you doing in my class? You don't belong here—I don't want you!"

Quezon, the dutiful son, became a soldier in accordance with his father's wishes. So lasting was the imprint of his father's counsel that in later years the star of Baler titled his book, **The Good Fight**.

* Reprinted from the *Philippine Free Press*, August 17, 1957, pp. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30.

Grateful Friend

Like any other man, Quezon had his own human frailties. Ingratitude, however, was not one of them. This was dramatically illustrated when he consented to be adopted through formal court proceedings by an old man from Pandacan (Manila), Santiago Antonio, who remained a bachelor up to his death.

The ties between Quezon and Antonio started when the man from Baler came down from the hills after the capture of General Emilio Aguinaldo at Palanan, Isabela, in 1901. Then a major in the revolutionary forces, Quezon surrendered to the American detachment at Bataan, after which he was brought to Manila. He was then suffering from malaria. It was Ingkong Tiago, the old man, who nursed Quezon back to health and took care of him like a son.

When Quezon rose to power, he did not forget Ingkong Tiago. He placed Antonio on his private pension list. The old man received a monthly stipend of P80 from Quezon's personal funds.

In 1926, Antonio, then over 70 years of age, discovered that he was to receive a cash legacy of over P10,000 from the estate of a deceased relative. Since he was already old and a tubercular at that, Ingkong Tiago knew that his days were numbered. Antonio, who knew that Quezon would not accept the money, consulted Atty. Victoriano Yamzon who advised him to adopt Quezon. When Quezon was told that the old man would like to adopt him, he blandly remarked: "The adoption proceedings would merely confirm the relationship between Don Santiago and me."

A few months after the adoption proceedings were finished, the legal father of Quezon passed away. It was Quezon who took care of his burial since the old man had no relatives. It is not known whether or not President Quezon received the P10,000 legacy because, in the first place, he did not know about it when he was adopted by the old man.

To this day, very few people know that the full name of Quezon was Manuel Luis Quezon Antonio since few knew about the adoption of the late president by an old man.

Gallant Blade

Maj. Gen. Basilio J. Valdes, chief of staff of the Philippine Army under Quezon and a confidant of the late president, relates the following anecdote about Quezon's adventures and misadventures as a lover.

During Quezon's salad days, he used to visit his parents in Baler. The handsome Manoling proved to be irresistible to the pretty woman in his hometown. However, there was one girl who was not impressed by Quezon's lovemaking. Ever the gallant blade, Manoling sought the help of a certain Aling Lilay, an old woman, who possessed a certain concoction called *gayuma*, which, it was said, could make a man irresistible to all women. He called on the old woman and was given a sample of the mysterious potion.

"What shall I do with this?" Quezon inquired.

Aling Lilay's instructions were brief and simple: "Place a few drops of this *gayuma* on your handkerchief, and when you pass in front of the girl, just shake the hanky and the girl will fall in your arms in complete ecstasy."

Quezon paid 50 centavos for the drug and followed Aling Lilay's instructions to the letter. He saw the girl in a party seated next to her mother. He walked several times in front of her, each time shaking the handkerchief. But there was no response from the girl. From the way she looked at Quezon, she probably thought that there was something wrong with his head. The frustrated lover returned the *gayuma* to Aling Lilay and demanded the refund of his 50 centavos.

The Doting Father

Despite the heavy burden imposed on him by affairs of state, Quezon always had time for his family. Before his children left for school in the morning, he would call them

to his room and give them his blessings. He was never too busy to accompany his daughters to the NCAA basketball games at the Rizal Memorial Coliseum. His daughters always ribbed him by cheering for La Salle, his son Nonong's school, while he cheered for his alma mater, San Juan de Letran.

At one time, it was decided that his daughters should study abroad. An exclusive school for girls in the United States was chosen and Quezon paid their tuition fees in advance. All arrangements had been completed and Mrs. Quezon accompanied the children on a trip to Europe preparatory to their going to the U.S. After a few days, however, Quezon felt lonesome without his family and cabled Mrs. Quezon "to come home with the children immediately."

Just before Quezon's operation for an ailment at Johns Hopkins Hospital in 1934, he wrote farewell notes to his wife and children. (He thought his ailment was serious.) Written in Tagalog, the letters were full of tenderness and reflected Quezon's nature as a thoughtful husband and a loving father. To his children, he wrote: "Baby, Nini, Nonong, my beloved children: be good. Obey all the wishes of your mother and love one another. Pray for your father and forgive him."

To Doña Aurora, he wrote: "My sweetheart. My heart and life are yours alone. There is no wife that can compare with you in goodness. . ."

Quezon was the first to initiate daylight-saving time. But after two months, he suspended the experiment because of an incident involving his shins. One of Quezon's hobbies was horseback riding. Early every morning, he would ride his horse around the palace grounds together with some friends. One morning, Quezon rose earlier than usual. While groping his way in the dark, he hit a table with his shins.

"Puñeta!" the presidential voice could be heard all over Malacañang. "No more DST. If this can happen to me, it must be happening to other people." A few hours later, the President revoked his order providing for daylight-saving time.

Sometime in 1936, Quezon, accompanied by Senator Jose P. Laurel, then an associate justice of the Supreme Court, made an ocular inspection of the Bilibid Prisons compound. As the two were entering the gate of the penitentiary, five shabbily-dressed men were sweeping the cement floor.

"What are you doing here?" inquired the Chief Executive in Tagalog.

The men immediately told their story to Quezon. They said that they were *cocheros* or rig drivers who were caught by a policeman while converting the street into a public mid-ren. Quezon exploded: "Just for a thing like that you are now being confined in jail?" The President then told one of the guards to fetch the director of prisons and then and there he pardoned the rig drivers.

Cried at Times

Despite his tough armor of cynicism, Quezon had a soft heart and he was known to have shed tears copiously on sad occasions. General Valdes relates one incident which proves this contention.

"In 1924," Valdes says, "when Quezon's third daughter, Nenita, was taken seriously ill with tubercular meningitis, I was already a doctor of medicine and I volunteered to be on duty every night at the bedside of the child and to be in readiness in case of any emergency. Nenita died early in the morning of December 14, 1924. I still remember how President Quezon cried when the fatal moment came. I sat with him and Mrs. Quezon at breakfast on the veranda of his house in Pasay. From that day on, my association with Quezon became more and more intimate.

According to General Valdes, the man who attended Quezon during his last days, Quezon's illness when he was in Corregidor was not entirely physical. "One night while I was seated next to his bed, the President said: 'General, it is a crime to let out young men die this way. No help seems to come from the United States. Our boys are putting up a wonderful resistance but this is turning to be nothing but

a slaughter.' He could not continue because he began to cry. The following day he called a meeting of the cabinet. He told the cabinet of a plan to telegraph President Roosevelt to do something to stop the slaughter." The telegram was later sent and Roosevelt replied that the Philippines would be defended by the United States. Roosevelt's message to Quezon said, among other things: "We shall not relax our efforts until the forces which are now marshalling outside the Philippine Islands return to the Philippines and drive the last remnant of the invaders from your soil."

Quezon, however, did not live to see that day.

MANUEL L. QUEZON — AS I KNEW HIM *

By Phillip L. De Vault

I WAS PRESIDENT QUEZON'S personal guard from the time he took over Malacañan in November 1935 until he left in December 1941, after war broke out. During that time I came to know him very well; he had a temper, but you couldn't help liking that man. He was impulsive at times, but never mean, and always generous. A great guy.

The way he took me on is typical of the way he did things when regulations or red-tape stood in the way. All Americans in the Philippine government service were due to be discharged on January 1, 1936, and I had been thinking of what to do with myself then. One morning in November 1935, after Mr. Quezon had been in office only a few days, he asked me about the advisability of going to Baguio, on account of the ice-plant whistle had just blown a storm warning. The President wanted to know what it signified, and I said it signified bad enough weather.

The trip was called off. I had then some letter which I laid on his desk and he started opening them and reading them one by one. Then he came to some papers which I laid there by mistake. They were diagrams I had been preparing myself.

"What's this?" he asked, frowning.

"A burglar alarm system I designed, Sir," I said.

The presidential visage lighted up.

"No, Sir. That is the burglar alarm system I am going to try to find a market for after I am discharged."

He pounded his desk angrily.

"Who said to fire you?" he asked.

* Reprinted from the Sunday Times Magazine, August 17, 1947.

So I explained how, as an American, I would have to be leaving the service.

"No, you don't," said the President. "As long as I am President, you be my guard."

Later, City Hall complained it had no more money to pay my salary—no appropriations. I approached the President with some diffidence, ready to resign my position. Again he pounded the table. "If they can't pay you," he said, "I will, out of my own pocket."

The President's impatience with trifles was matched by quick and sometimes impulsive, if not whimsical, decisions. When General MacArthur arrived as head of the military mission, he brought with him seven of the latest Thompsons, the first to reach Manila, and handed them around as presents. It happened later that one of the machines lay on my desk at the main door. I asked the President if I might take it.

"Do you know how to use it?" he asked point-blank.

"Yes, Sir," I said. "I learned to use it in Chicago as somebody's bodyguard."

"Then," said the President with casual wave of his hand, "take it."

Soon after, I was with the President on board the **Mayon** for his inspection tour of Zamboanga and Davao; it was our first night out. The presidential suite consisted of two rooms adjoining the kitchen. As he left the bedroom open, there was nothing between him and the rest of the ship but the curtain. I stretched myself on a cot in the next room. Pretty soon, Don Manuel noticed by presence, and he expelled a purple oath. "What in the name of such and such are you doing here?"

"Guarding you, Sir," I said springing-up.

He let off an oath again. "Suppose I should get up in the middle of the night—you want me to trip on you and break my neck?" he asked. "Go to the top deck and sleep there."

I don't blame him. If I was guarded all the time, I would not enjoy it, either.

At Zamboanga, President Quezon gave us the slip and went off all by himself to see the town. Worried, Major Nieto instructed me to find him. I went all over the place and finally caught up with him sitting atop an adobe wall, talking to a streetcleaner. The streetcleaner was just being polite, as he didn't know who the man on the wall was.

"You're talking to President Manuel L. Quezon," I informed him. Before the man could recover from his surprise, Don Manuel had bawled me out for talking out of turn.

It turned out the President had been talking to the man and learned he was much underpaid after 30 years on the job. He was upped four grades.

THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT: FROM MANILA TO WASHINGTON*

"ONE OF THE MOST epic series of desperate adventures ever undergone by a nation's civilian leader in the history of war." That was the description aptly given by General Douglas MacArthur of the perilous journey made by President Manuel L. Quezon from Japanese-beseiged Manila to Washington, via Corregidor, the Visayan Islands, Mindanao and Australia.

"We travelled on the sea, under the sea and over the sea," President Quezon once summarized. Again and again there was imminent danger in running the Japanese blockade. The President, who was strongly reluctant to leave Manila, bore the grave responsibility of his family and his staff. This, coupled with the poor state of his health at the time, increased the hardships of the trip. Only his iron will to live to see the day of the redemption of the Philippines enabled him to reach Washington to continue the fight for the liberation of his country.

At the outbreak of the Pacific war President Quezon was in Baguio recuperating from a recurrence of an old illness. At 8:00 a.m., December 8, 1941, Japanese bombs were dropping on the United States Army Camp, John Hay, only a half mile from the President's residence.

He immediately motored the 160 miles to Manila to take charge of the Filipino resistance against the Japanese—a resistance which is still going on. In suburban Mariquina President Quezon presided at meetings of his cabinet two or three times every 24-hour day and was in constant communication with MacArthur. The Commonwealth Government was doing everything possible to help the army of Filipinos and Americans under General MacArthur.

* Reprinted from *Philippines*, March 15, 1943, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 1-3.

Hard Decision

After the Japanese had succeeded in landing at several places in Northern Luzon, and when it became evident that they could not be stopped from closing in on Manila, MacArthur and the President discussed the question of declaring Manila an open city. MacArthur told the President that he was transferring his headquarters to Corregidor and wanted the Chief Executive to go with him. He insisted that it was his duty to prevent the President's capture by the Japanese and he could only do that by having him in Corregidor. President Quezon objected. He thought it was his duty to remain with the civilian population. He even advanced a counter proposal—to leave Manila and go to some unoccupied province. The Cabinet, however, by unanimous decision, endorsed MacArthur's suggestion.

All the members wanted to leave with him, but there was not enough space in the jam-packed fortress. Only he, his family, Vice President Osmeña, Chief Justice Santos, Major General Valdes, who had been designated Secretary of National Defense, and some members of the Executive Staff, could make the trip.

On December 24 President Quezon was notified by General MacArthur that the hour of departure had come. Even then, there was no despair. There was still the hope that help would soon come from the United States and the invader would be driven away in a few months. While President Quezon and his party were on their way to board the S.S. *Mayon*, which was waiting for them in the Bay, Manila harbor was having its worst bombing of the war. The boat's departure was held up for an hour because the chief engineer could not be located. When the party finally boarded the boat, they found High Commissioner Sayre and his party there.

President Quezon's health had worsened, but in the Corregidor tunnel he spent his long days in conference with General MacArthur and the members of his Cabinet on the pro-

gress of the invasion and of the resistance gallantly put up by the combined American and Filipino forces. He acted daily on the incoming reports from unoccupied areas.

Inauguration at Corregidor

On Rizal Day, December 30, 1941, President Quezon and Vice President Osmeña began their second term. The simple but impressive ceremonies on Corregidor were witnessed by the United States High Commissioner and his family, General MacArthur and his family, Army officers and nurses. The President devoted his inauguration address to reiterating his faith in eventual United Nations victory, promising that his people would fight with the United States until the end and encouraging the Filipinos in their defiance of Nipponese fury.

That same day President Quezon declined an invitation from President Franklin D. Roosevelt to come to Washington. At that time he could have easily made the trip from the Philippines to Australia and then to the United States on a surface craft, as Singapore and Java were still holding and Japanese planes and ships were not in control of that area. But he still had much to do. The heroic stands at Bataan and Corregidor were to come.

By the middle of February the lack of rice and foodstuffs had become acute. For weeks the men had been without sufficient food. General MacArthur, President Quezon and the Cabinet met and conferred. It was decided that the President could be of more help by going to the unoccupied province to organize some plan of bringing in food for the soldiers at Bataan and Corregidor and to keep up the morale of the civilian population.

In accordance with this decision and with the approval of President Roosevelt, President Quezon's party prepared to leave for the Visayan Islands. At dusk on February 20, an American submarine slipped through mine fields and anchored at Corregidor.

In secrecy the Quezon party boarded the submarine, which immediately groped its way through the mined waters around Corregidor into the open sea. When dawn came, however, the submarine had to dive again. The submarine's interior became intolerably hot. To President Quezon this part of his odyssey was the most uncomfortable. He turned down impatiently any suggestion to continue the trip to Hawaii or Australia. Rather than stay an hour longer in a submerged submarine, he preferred to face the Japanese.

Submarine Trip Ended

At dawn on February 22, after 30-odd hours in the submarine, the Quezon party was at San Jose in Panay. From here President Quezon proceeded to Iloilo and conferred with local officials, including the provincial boards of Iloilo and Capiz, discussing with the resistance against the Japanese as long as possible. Two days later they moved from Iloilo to Negros Occidental. Meantime, attempts were made to send ships loaded with much needed food to the harried men of Bataan, but only one ship got through, the rest being sunk by the Japanese.

Vice President Osmeña and Major General Valdes then went to look Cebu over as a possible site for the Government. The appearance of an enemy cruiser summarily ended the project and the two officials returned to Negros. On their return it was decided that the seat of the Government should be transferred to Mindanao and, in order to find the best possible location, Colonel Soriano was sent to Mindanao with a letter to Maj. Gen. William F. Sharp, in command of the Visayan-Mindanao Force.

When Colonel Soriano came back, he had a letter from General MacArthur whom he had seen in Mindanao. The letter informed President Quezon that by order of President Roosevelt, he, the General, was going to Australia. He urged President Quezon to join him in Australia and from there to direct the forces that would reconquer the Philippines. He told him also that on a certain day two or three PT boats would come and get President Quezon in Negros. The Pres-

ident read the letter through once and, in characteristic fashion, made his decision on the spot.

The hazards of the proposed trip became apparent from the very beginning. Just before leaving, President Quezon received a telegram from General Wainwright reporting that Japanese destroyers were in the waters that the President was going to traverse. Nevertheless, the President went to the rendezvous to meet the officer in command of the PT boats and to tell him what General Wainwright had reported. He waited for more than two hours, and when they failed to appear he decided to return to his temporary residence, leaving Vice President Osmeña and General Valdes to wait for the boats.

Bulkeley Appears

When the PT boats arrived and the officers found that the President had gone, they drove furiously over a 20-mile stretch to overtake him. Lt. Bulkeley pulled up in front of the President's car. "We can make it tonight, sir," he said as he stopped toward the President in front of his car's headlight. "It would be harder and riskier if we tried to come back later for you. I strongly urge you to come now."

President Quezon raised his eyebrows and gave one long look at the speaker. "I'll go," said he.

Later in Washington he revealed that he was very much surprised to find Bulkeley so young. When he met him in Negros, Bulkeley had a long beard, but when he saw him again in Australia, the naval hero had shaven.

"You know, he looked just like a boy," the President told Washington correspondents. Half jokingly and half seriously he added: "If I had seen him like that on the night we were talking on the road near Bais, I wouldn't have set foot on his boat. But that night, with those fearless eyes and that black beard, he looked as keen and able as an old Spanish pirate."

It was 3:15 in the morning when Bulkeley ordered Ensign George Cox, skipper of the PT-41 to get under way, and soon the overloaded little boat was roaring seaward. Hardy members of the party gripped handrails on the narrow deck. President Quezon stayed in the wheelhouse, and Mrs. Quezon prayed in the chartroom.

PT Boat Incident

After two hours, when the trip's greatest peril was considered over, the boat staggered under a violent jolt from the open sea. It was decided to let go a couple of torpedoes. It was a most risky enterprise to fire them, for one bursting air flask would blow up the ship. The long tense moment ended when two courageous torpedomen finished their job perfectly. The boat was wheeled sharply to avoid the running torpedoes and continued the rest of the four-hour trip to Oroquieta, Mindanao, without a hitch, except for the unusual roughness.

Fifteen Navy men, armed to the teeth, leaped ashore as the boat touched the pier, and President Quezon came out of the open cockpit. He saw the men approach the village to clear it of any Japanese lurking there. The President was tired but his eyes were full of fire.

The President, wearing two light leader jackets but no shirt, riding breeches but no boots, and leather bedroom slippers but no socks, stepped ashore, followed by Mrs. Quezon, the Quezon children—Aurora, Zeneida, Manuel, Jr.—and the rest of the party. The big crowd which watched the landing failed to recognize their President, a fact which pleased the military and naval authorities who were doing their best to keep his departure to Australia a secret.

President Quezon spent March 19 in Jimenez and the next two days in Dansalan on the shore of Lake Lanao, 2000 feet above sea level. During his stay in Mindanao he designated Brig. Gen. Manuel Roxas, who had asked to be allowed to remain in the Philippines, to act for the President in all the unoccupied areas.

On the night of March 22, President Quezon's party motored to Del Monte, a pineapple plantation from which they could easily reach the airfield. There they waited four days for the appearance of three Flying Fortresses from Australia.

At 10 o'clock on the night of March 26 the Quezon party motored to the airfield. The cars, lighted only by the moon, moved slowly.

Aboard Flying Fortress

The Quezon party were helped into their places in the planes. The Flying Fortresses rose into the air and the lights on the airfield were turned off. The President of the Philippines had seen the last of his native soil until the day of victory.

The planes arrived in northern Australia the next morning. President Quezon later said that he had never realized that that continent was so near the Philippines. The Quezon party breakfasted in Port Darwin. The eggs he had that morning were the best he had ever eaten, the President observed.

The Flying Fortresses resumed their trip to southern Australia, two of them reaching Alice Springs in the afternoon. The plane bearing Vice President Osmeña and Major Soriano was missing. President Quezon refused to go on with the trip until they were found, so he spent the night in a small hotel in Alice Springs.

The missing plane ran short of gas above the Australian desert. The pilot grounded the plane to await rescue. The plane's radio failed to work. After some tinkering with it, the crew succeeded the next morning in sending a flash before it went dead again. That afternoon a rescue plane appeared. The Flying Fortress obtained enough gas to make the 50 miles to Alice Springs.

The rest of the trip to Melbourne was velvet. President Quezon and his party were taken in a comfortable transport plane from the mid-desert town to Adelaide, where they

boarded a train for Melbourne. General MacArthur was waiting for them at the station. President Quezon also met Governor Gowrie of Australia and Prime Minister Curtin, who expressed the admiration of the Australians for the gallant fight the Filipinos were putting up. Thy felt that the determined stand of the Filipinos was aiding Australia immeasurably by giving her more time to prepare her defenses.

President Quezon soon realized that he could do much more for the Philippines in Washington than in Melbourne, so he decided to accept the invitation of the President of the United States. His party boarded a San Francisco-bound American transport, a one-time trans-pacific liner, escorted by a cruiser always within a half-mile. The transport voyage was comparatively smooth and uneventful, although the ship had to zigzag much of the way.

At Work in Washington

"One beautiful morning I sighted San Francisco's Golden Gate, which I never expected to see again when I entered the tunnel of Corregidor," President Quzon said, upon his arrival in Washington.

In San Francisco President Quezon was met by Oscar Chapman, the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, and representatives of the Army and Navy. Aboard a special train sent by order of President Roosevelt, the Quezon party arrived in Washington on May 13, 1942.

At the Union Station the Filipino leader was greeted by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Secretary of State Hull, Secretary of War Stimson, Secretary of Interior Ickes, Justices of the Supreme Court, Senators and Congressmen, and former Philippine Governors General and High Commissioners. President Quezon and his family were invited to spend the night at the White House.

The next day when the Philippine and American flags were raised at the Philippine Commonwealth Building at

1617 Massachusetts Avenue the President of the Philippines was already at his desk. Malacañan Palace had been transferred to Washington for the duration.

A GOVERNMENT IN EXILE*

By Amante F. Paredes

ON THE MORNING before Christmas of 1941, United States High Commissioner Francis B. Sayre, received an urgent phone call from the headquarters of General Douglas MacArthur. The officer at the other end of the line advised Sayre that the "fall of Manila in a few days was imminent". At about the same time, Malacañan was informed too, of the coming tragedy, and President Manuel L. Quezon was advised to transfer the seat of the Commonwealth government to Corregidor on the bay. Manila was under siege, and occasionally being raided by Japanese planes, the Japanese troops were nearing and the populace was on the edge of panic. USAFFE forces were withdrawing to the Bataan peninsula, under War Plan Orange 33: to delay the advance of the Japanese forces across Luzon, and to try to hold out till the counter-offensive starts. Four hours after that report was received, Sayre issued an statement: "In order to add to the security of the government, I am today temporarily transferring my office out of the City of Manila in accordance with General MacArthur's direction, and in full agreement with the officials of the Commonwealth government. At the same time a portion of my staff will remain in Manila, charged with the duty of carrying on the functions of this office and looking after the welfare of all so far as military necessity permits. We will fight to the last man. We know that our fight is America's fight. America's help is sure. There can be no shadow of question as to ultimate victory."

President Quezon immediately summoned his advisers and informed them of his decision to transfer the seat of government to Corregidor. With him on that day were Vice-President Sergio Osmeña, Major General Basilio Valdes, Colonel Manuel Roxas, Colonel Manuel Nieto, and Serapio Caneran, his private secretary. With this group, who was ins-

* Reprinted from *This Week*, July 31, 1955, pp. 10-11.

trusted to accompany Quezon, were Reverend Father Pacifico Ortiz, S.J.; Dr. Andreas Trepp, Majors Benvenuto Diño, Egmidio Cruz, and Ah Dong, his Chinese valet.

At one thirty in the afternoon of the twenty-fourth, following a Japanese air attack on the port area, the American High Commissioner and his staff met President Quezon, his family, and his staff at the presidential landing beside the Manila Hotel. Here, a patrol-torpedo boat was waiting to take them to the S.S. *Mayon* outside the breakwater, on where they sailed the short but dangerous way to Corregidor.

Claude Buss, executive assistant at the Commissioner's office, was left behind to look after civilian welfare and defense. Sayre reminisced at the landing: "I could not help thinking back to the day, two years before, when I had landed on this same pier, amid nineteen-gun salutes and waving flags and zooming planes overhead, to be greeted by the President and his Cabinet. Now, two years later, President Quezon and I met again at the same pier, between bombing raids in danger of our lives. . . ." On Christmas eve, after twenty-seven miles of open sea, the S.S. *Mayon* reached Corregidor, where Major General George C. Moore, commander of the island-fortress, met the presidential party. From the beach, they were conducted to Malinta tunnel, which was henceforth used as headquarters of the United States army and the government-in-exile. A member of the party later wrote of life and times at Malinta tunnel: "We gave up all privacy along with the soft things of life. We ate at a common mess in the tunnel, slept in the tunnel, and worked there as long as the foul air and different working conditions would permit. . . . It became our custom to steal away from the fetid atmosphere and oppressive sights of the tunnel every afternoon an hour or two before sundown, walk up the dusty road to our haven of refuge and there spread a blanket on the terrace and stretch our backs, drinking in the fresh air and the beauty of the serenity of the atmosphere. It was like fresh drafts of life, and it gave us new strength and resisting power. . . as darkness settled down we could see the flashes of the Japanese guns answered by our own over Bataan, fol-

lowed by the sounds of the explosions. On many nights the whole sky would be alight with flames from the havoc and destruction following the shelling. Some nights we were driven back to the tunnel by the stream of overhead shells, and that always meant an exciting dash."

The refugee government stayed in Corregidor for about two months. It was on this island-bastion overlooking Bataan peninsula where American and Filipino soldiers were feverishly preparing for the expected offensive by the Japanese, that President Quezon celebrated on the occasion the second inauguration of his induction to office on December 30, 1941, after completing his six-year as chief executive. This was to be followed by two more years as provided for in the Constitution. Quezon sickly, took his oath of office before Chief Justice Jose Abad Santos in the presence of high dignitaries of the government-in-exile. He said in a voice choked with emotion: "Today we are assuming for the second time the duties of the presidency under entirely different conditions. We are in the grip of war . . . in the defenseless cities and towns air raids are killing women and children and destroying century-old churches, monasteries, and schools . . . at the present time we have but one task to fight with America for America and the Philippines. To their task we shall devote all our resources in men and materials. Ours is a great cause. We are fighting for human liberty and justice, for these principles of individual freedom which we all cherish and without which life would be worth nothing. Indeed, we are fighting for our own independence. It is to maintain that independence, these liberties and these freedom to banish fear and want among all peoples, and to establish a reign of justice for all the world, that we are sacrificing our lives and all that we possess. The war may be long-drawn and hard-fought, but with the determination of freedom-loving peoples everywhere to stamp out the rule of violence and terrorism, from the face of the earth, I am absolutely convinced that final and complete victory will be ours. . . ." He was followed by Commissioner Sayre and MacArthur, who reiterated

the support of the United States of the aims of the Commonwealth government.

After the ceremonies, Quezon named the members of his wartime Cabinet: Vice President Sergio Osmeña as secretary of instruction; Jose Abad Santos, secretary of justice; Gen. Basilio Valdes, secretary of national defense, public works and communications; Andres Soriano, secretary of finance, and Colonel Manuel Roxas, secretary to the President. A few days later while the Japanese were at the gates of Manila, President Quezon created a committee composed of Osmeña, Abad Santos, and Valdes to negotiate with staff of the American High Commissioner on how to dispose of the government funds in the vaults at Corregidor. At the conference it was decided to dump all coins into Manila Bay and to burn all treasury warrant notes, amounting to millions of pesos.

During the first days at Corregidor, the high commissioner was able to contact Manila by military telephone informing the headquarters about the campaign movements in Luzon. On New Year's eve, Corregidor received the last message from Mr. Buss, who reported that "every member of the staff was well and that the city was quiet." The following morning, the Japanese occupied the city.

Close to the fall of the capital city to the Japanese, President Roosevelt, in a message to the Filipino people transmitted by short-wave direct to Manila, said: "To the People of the Philippines: News of your gallant struggle against the Japanese aggressor has elicited the profound admiration of every American. As president of the United States, I know that I speak for all our people on this solemn occasion. The resources of the United States, of the British empire, of the Netherlands East Indies, and of the Chinese Republic have been dedicated by their people to the utter and complete defeat of the Japanese war lords. In this great struggle of the Pacific, the loyal Americans of the Philippine Islands are called upon to play a crucial role. They have played and they are playing their part with the greatest gallantry. As President, I wish to express to them my feeling of sincere admiration for the fight they are now making. The people

of the United States will never forget what the people of the Philippine Islands are doing this day and the days to come. I give to the people of the Philippines my solemn pledge that their freedom will be redeemed and their independence established and protected. The entire resources, in men and in material of the United States stand behind that pledge. It is not for me or for the people of this country to tell you where your duty lies. We are engaged in a great and common cause. I count on every man and woman and child to do his duty. We will do ours."

Afterward, President Roosevelt sent a communication to General MacArthur, Sayre, Quezon, and the members of their respective staffs were to be evacuated to Australia and later to the United States, there to continue on the fight against the Japanese. That was on February 10, 1942. The following day, Sayre received another message from Roosevelt: "If conditions make it possible and there are sufficient accommodations you should evacuate your staff with you and your family."

When Quezon was first informed of President Roosevelt's decision he did not want to go for he wanted to finish the war beside his people. He wanted to die in his native land, if it would be necessary. But he was informed of three grave situations: that the country would eventually fall, sooner or later; he should direct the resistance movement outside enemy territory; and that in Washington, he could continue fighting for independence in the United States which was willing to give the Philippines its support. He consented with a heavy heart to leave. Osmeña wrote: "This decision was not only wise, but the patriotic thing to do under the circumstances. From the outbreak of the war in the Philippines in December 1941, the question that taxed his mind was whether, as chief executive, it was not his duty to remain at the side of his people and share their fate. Not until after prolonged and painful deliberations did he finally decided to separate from his people temporarily."

Quezon brought with him historic documents. In an executive order, he named Colonel Roxas the representative

of the Free Philippines in case he, Quezon, and Vice-President Osmeña should die in exile. Then he sent a message to the American people pledging the support of his government to the cause of freedom. This was after he learned that his former associates established an Executive Commission under the Japanese government.

On the evening of February 20, President Quezon, his staff, and his family left Corregidor aboard the submarine *Swordfish*, commanded by Chester C. Smith. The party first sailed to San Jose de Buenavista in Antique, after a perilous sea-journey, avoiding the Japanese seacrafts that patrolled Philippine waters. They stayed in this peaceful town for two days; then the party motored to Iloilo, and stayed for sometime with the Lopez family. After taking lunch, they proceeded to Ajui, to the sugar centrals of the Elizaldes, where they boarded the S.S. *Don Esteban* for Guimaras island, north of the Iloilo river.

From this island, the presidential party boarded the S.S. *Princesa de Negros*, which took them to San Carlos, Negros Occidental. The next day, they left San Carlos for Bais, where they stayed for seven weeks. From this temporary seat of the Commonwealth government, Quezon issued a proclamation: "I urge every Filipino to be of good cheer, to have faith in the patriotism and valor of our soldiers in the field. But above all trust America and our great beloved leader—President Roosevelt. America is too great and too powerful to be vanquished in this conflict. I know she will not fail us."

On March 17 while the party was in Buenos Aires, Negros Occidental, they received a wire from MacArthur urging President Quezon to proceed to Australia, then headquarters of the United States Armed Forces in the Pacific. The next day, they motored to Dumaguete where they boarded a boat for Mindanao. Reaching Oroquieta, the party proceeded to Dansalan where they were escorted to San Francisco del Monte in Bukidnon to wait for the planes that would bring them to Australia. Here in the midst of the sweet pineapple country, President Quezon met Roxas for the last time.

A week later, three Flying Fortresses arrived at Bukidnon, and brought the party to Bachelor Field in Australia after an uninterrupted flight of nine hours. From Ale Springs, they chartered a commercial transport plane till Adelaide, where they took a train to Melbourne. In this city, Quezon was welcomed by MacArthur, Australian officials, and Filipino officers here who had escaped from fallen Bataan.

On next month, Quezon left for the United States, arriving there after eighteen days. On May 8, 1942, he conferred with President Roosevelt at the White House in Washington, D.C. Quezon's permanent residence was at Shoreham Hotel, where the Filipino flag was displayed with its red field on top, to show that the country was at war. The meetings of the Cabinet were held here, too. Two more members of the official party were added later: Joaquin M. Elizalde as resident commissioner and Jaime Hernandez as auditor general. The offices of the Commonwealth-government-in-exile was located in a four-story building with a red roof at Massachusetts Avenue.

There was a crisis for sometime among Filipino officialdom on November 15, 1943 when the term of Quezon expired, and Osmeña prepared to assume the executive post. But it was fixed by the United States Congress through legal processes when it approved Joint Resolution No. 95 extending the terms of office of the chief executive of the Commonwealth government until such time that the President of the United States should proclaim the restoration of constitutional processes, and the establishment of normal function of the government. Other achievements of Quezon and the members of his Cabinet included the passage and approval of Joint Resolutions Nos. 93 and 94, both approved on June 29, 1944. The first act authorizes the President of the United States, after the defeat of Japan and establishment of constitutional processes in the Philippines to proclaim its independence on or before July 4, 1946; the second act creates the Commission for Philippine Rehabilitation composed of nine Filipinos and nine Americans to survey and formulate plans

for the reconstruction of the country and the formulation of future trade relations between the two countries.

But Quezon did not live to see the independence of the Philippines. On his farewell message delivered before his death on August 1, 1944, he said: "My beloved countrymen: Every day the hour of your liberation is drawing closer. . . the forces of the United States under General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz are going forward, steadily, relentlessly. . . . I am truly proud of you . . . keep the banners of your faith flying. You must not falter now that the end of the long night of suffering is in sight. The day of deliverance is almost here at last. We will soon be with you. We are on the onward march—to victory and to freedom."

A few hours after Quezon's death, Osmeña was inducted President. The Manila **Tribune**, under supervision of the Japanese, wrote an editorial on August 4, 1944, on the death of Quezon: "Whatever be his sins and mistakes in the past, we cannot but deplore his death, specially knowing that he died in exile, far from his country and his people for whom he had labored for well nigh half a century . . . death has put *finis* to his career. As far as the Philippines is concerned, while we respect his memory, we accept the fact that his death also put an end to the agreements and compromises he had finally entered into with the American government, in the latter's effort to keep a hold on Filipino sympathy in the war. The curtain falls completely on the Commonwealth government in captivity."

But a turn of events brought the landing of the American forces in Leyte, on October 20, 1944. Three days later, the Commonwealth government was re-established in Tacloban, Leyte, three months after Quezon had died on Saranac Lake.

FROM POVERTY TO PROMINENCE *

By Manuel Luis Quezon

I WAS BORN a poor man, the son of a schoolteacher in one of the smallest towns in the Philippines, Baler. My father had, besides his salary, a two-hectare riceland which he cultivated. While I was a boy and during my early youth, my father saved as much as he could from his meager salary and from what he could get from his rice-field, only to have a few hundred pesos with which to give me an education. During those Spanish days, a Filipino family could live in a small town with four pesos a month and rice. Thus did my family live for years. At the age of five an aunt of mine started to teach me to read and write. My own father and mother, and the priest of my town later gave me primary instruction. At the age of nine I was brought by my father to Manila and began my secondary education at the San Juan de Letran College. First I lived in the Convent of San Francisco serving as a room-and-mess boy for one priest, receiving no salary, except my board and room. I could not stay too long in this service, because, being too young, I could not do my work as a room-and-mess boy and at the same time study and go to college without hurting my health. I was then sent by my father to the house of an aunt of mine whereof for some pesos, I roomed and boarded. The house was located in Paco, too far from the Walled City for one who could only use his own feet as means of transportation. My classes started at seven o'clock in the morning and I had to get up very early to get to my class on time. Again this impaired my health and the following year I was taken by my father to San Juan de Letran as an intern. As an intern I remained until I graduated as A.B. with the highest honors. By this time the savings of my father had all been spent in my education. He owed money, and simply told me I had to stop

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my studies unless I could work my way through university education. I came to Manila, and spoke to my Dominican professors, who, by this time had become very fond of me, and told them of my situation. I wanted to be a lawyer but could not pay for my expenses. They secured a position for me as one of the helpers of the University of Santo Tomas with room and board and free tuition. Thus I was able to take up the study of the law. Before finishing my law course, the revolution came, and soon after the hostilities between American and Filipino forces had started I joined the Filipino army and took part in the war. I remained in the field until all organized resistance to the authority of the United States had been wiped out. I came to Manila, penniless and sick; was put and kept in prison by the United States Army for six months. After my release from prison I stayed in the house of (Alejandro) Albert who had become my good friend during the revolution. With them I stayed without paying for my room and board for sometime. Then I fell sick and was admitted free of charge at San Juan de Dios hospital thanks to the good office of my Dominican professors and the generosity of Bishop Alcocer, then the Metropolitan of Manila. For a long time I was in the hospital until Dr. Singian brought me to his house to live with him free of charge, and to be taken care of by him and I got well.

Then I was able to enter as clerk in the Monte de Piedad, at the modest salary of twenty-five pesos a month, lived for a practically nominal sum at the house of an old couple, until I passed the Bar examinations, with a very high grade.

Once a lawyer I did not go into politics at once. First I worked in the office of Judge Ortigas, the largest and most highly reputed law firm in the country at the time, at the invitation of Judge Ortigas himself who had known me as a student. I received a salary of P150.00 a month at that time a big salary for a lawyer who did not have any previous practice of the profession, and with the understanding that I could have my own clients and receive my own fees from them. I stayed in the firm for four months, received my monthly salary, won in the courts every single case allotted

to me by the firm, had my own clients in association with another lawyer from Iloilo named Gay, and made for me during that time about two thousand pesos from my practice with Mr. Gay.

Then I had to go to Tayabas to file a civil suit to recover the land of my deceased father, which was unlawfully occupied by another party. In Tayabas, I soon began to have clients and seeing a good field there for my profession I came to Manila, severed my association with Mr. Gay and opened my law office in that province. Immediately some big cases, civil and criminal, were entrusted to me. I charged large fees to the rich and none whatever to the poor. I lost no cases.

Then the position of Provincial Fiscal for Mindoro was offered to me by the Judge of First Instance of that District and the late Dr. Tavera, then a member of the Philippine Commission. I hesitated long before accepting the offer. I was making over a thousand pesos a month as a lawyer and the position of Fiscal of Mindoro gave only a salary of P150.00. I decided to accept the position as a call of public duty and accepted it. After six months as Fiscal of Mindoro I was promoted to Tayabas, without asking anybody for this promotion, served as Fiscal of Tayabas for six months, and then resigned to return to the practice of my profession. As Fiscal of Tayabas I had a legal royal battle with five best American lawyers of Manila at the time on some criminal charges for estafa which I presented against an American lawyer, then the owner of the most powerful American newspaper of Manila, **The Cablenews**, who tried to rob of their property a number of ignorant, but somewhat well-to-do Filipinos. I won the case, the lawyer was convicted and disbarred, but he did not land in jail because he escaped from the country, thus forfeiting his bond.

As an aftermath of this and for his own personal reasons, the then Governor of Mindoro, Captain Ofley, at my back brought administrative charges of all kinds against me for acts supposedly committed by me while I was Fiscal of Min-

doro. Without being previously informed of the charges, an expert investigation was conducted to testify against me in my absence, and under the moral threat of my persecutor, Governor Ofley. All the serious charges were found absolutely groundless, but some minor ones were declared proven, such as, for instance, that I had attacked physically some one. I was disgusted with the whole performance and against the advice of Judge Ross, the then inspector of Fiscals who told the then Secretary of Justice, Judge Idle, in my presence, that I was the best Provincial Fiscal, I resigned from the position.

I practiced law in Tayabas and once more my law office had to decline many cases because I could not handle them. I made several thousand pesos as a lawyer, as everybody knows in Tayabas and then I entered the race for the Governorship of the province. And I did so on the insistent demands of the poor people of Tayabas. As a Fiscal and as a lawyer I had defended them against abuses of the unscrupulous rich and the lawless government officials. They wanted me to render them a constant and effective service as Governor of the Province and I yielded to their demands. The richest, most powerful and influential families of the province fought me. The poor and the humble stood by me and I won, against my two rival candidates who both belonged to the cream of the society of the province.

I was elected, my election was protested, one of the grounds of the protest being that those who voted for me were the uneducated. My election was confirmed and I became Governor of the Province.

RED-LETTER DAYS IN PRESIDENT MANUEL LUIS QUEZON'S LIFE

Compiled by the Filipiniana Division,
National Library

- 1878—August 19—Birth of Manuel Luis Quezon
- 1883—First taught the three R's by his parents and aunt
- 1887—Enrolled at San Juan de Letran College.
- 1889-1894—Obtained highest grades during pre-college studies at San Juan de Letran College.
- 1893—Death of Quezon's mother, Doña Maria.
- 1894—February 19—Took examination for the degree of bachelor of Arts at University of Sto. Tomas.
- 1894—Feb. 24—Awarded degree of Bachelor of Arts, summa cum laude at University of Sto. Tomas.
- 1895—Commenced study of law at University of Sto. Tomas.
- 1897—Resumed study of law interrupted by Revolution against Spain.
- 1898—Joined Aguinaldo's Revolutionary Forces against United States.
- 1899—Promoted to Major and appointed Commander of the Second Company composed of guerrillas in Bataan.
- 1899—September—Surrendered to the Americans.
- 1900—Falsely accused of complicity in the murder of a companion. Was imprisoned for six months by the U.S. Army.
- 1901—Given free board and lodging by Santiago Antonio and his wife in their house in Pandacan, Manila.
- 1902—Decided to take up study of theology at the University of Sto. Tomas, but was prevented by an admirer of Quezon's ability.

- 1903—February 20—Applied to the Supreme Court for permission to take bar examination.
- 1903—April 16—took oath of a licensed lawyer.
- 1903—Sept. 19—Accepted position of provincial fiscal for Mindoro.
- 1903—October—Personally filed a criminal case against Fabian Hernandez, arch-enemy of his late father, Lucio, for having falsified the latter's signature and for having forcibly taken possession of his two-acre rice farm in Baler, Tayabas (now Quezon).
- 1904—March 12—Promoted as fiscal of Tayabas.
- 1904—Filed 25 information for estafa against Francis J. Berry, a very influential American lawyer and publisher of **Cablenews American**.
- 1904—November 1—Resigned as Fiscal of Tayabas.
- 1906—January 15—Entered politics with his election as councilor of the municipality of Tayabas, in Tayabas province.
- 1906—March 5—Elected Provincial Governor of Tayabas.
- 1907—July 25—Resigned as Provincial Governor of Tayabas to enter candidacy for a seat in the Philippine Assembly. Won over Domingo Lopez.
- 1908—July—When Governor Taft appointed Rafael Palma as member of the Nationalist Party in the Philippine Commission, Quezon, as the majority floorleader remained in the Assembly as Speaker Osmeña's righthand man.
- 1909—May 15 to 1917—January 11—Held position of Junior Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States. During that period two important political concessions were given to Filipinos: granting of a Filipino majority in the Philippine Commission in 1913 and the surrender of all legislative rights to Filipinos by the establishment of the Philippine Senate in 1916.

- 1910—May 14—Made maiden speech as Junior Commissioner.
- 1911—Independence tour of influential New England States.
- 1914—Spoke before American Congress against Women Suffrage.
- 1916—August 29—Jones Bill passed by Congress, the fruit of the inspired efforts of Commissioner Quezon.
- 1916-1935—Held position of senator (President, Philippine Senate).
- 1918—Headed the Independence Mission to United States.
- 1918—December 14—Civil marriage of Quezon to Aurora Aragon in Hongkong.
- 1918—December 17—Church wedding of Quezon to Aurora solemnized by the Bishop of Hongkong in the Catholic Cathedral.
- 1919—September 23—Birth of his first child, Maria Aurora.
- 1920—Leadership friction between him and Speaker Osmeña grew to more tangible proportions.
- 1921—Defended the venture of the Philippine government into state socialism.
- 1921—April 9—Birth of his second child, Maria Zeneida.
- 1922—Placed the Quezon-Osmeña leadership issue before the electorate in the June elections.
- 1923—Legally adopted by Mang Tiago (Santiago Antonio), then 78 years old, and thus got the full legal name of Manuel Luis Quezon Antonio y Molina.
- 1924—April—Headed Legislative Mission to United States.
- 1924—December 14—Death of his third child, Luisa Corazon Paz.
- 1934—Departed for U.S. to present to Congress Independence formula later known as Tydings-McDuffie Act which was accepted by the Philippine Legislature.

- 1935—February—Left Manila to discuss U.S.-P.I. relations with Washington officials.
- 1935—Invited General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff of U.S. Army, to organize Philippine Army.
- 1935—March 23—President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Constitution of the Philippines in White House in the presence of the Filipino delegation headed by Quezon.
- 1935—May 14—Constitution ratified by Filipino electorate in a plebiscite.
- 1935—July 20—Accepted the Coalition party nomination for the presidency of the Commonwealth.
- 1935—Sept. 17—First presidential election for the Commonwealth held.
- 1935—Nov. 15—took oath of office as first President of the Philippine Commonwealth.
- 1936—Conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of Santo Tomas.
- 1937—April 17—Conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws by the Georgetown University.
- 1940—Quezon laid cornerstone of proposed national edifice in site of future Philippine Capitol in Quezon City. Feature of occasion was placing of Commonwealth bronze capsule containing historical documents into cornerstone cavity.
- 1941—December 30—Assumption of his second term of office as President of the Commonwealth.
- 1942—March 26—Left the Philippines for Australia aboard one of three flying fortresses which MacArthur sent him.
- 1942—April 20—Boarded the S.S. *President Coolidge* in Melbourne for the United States.
- 1942—May 8—Arrived in San Francisco, California on Board the S.S. *President Coolidge*.

1942—June 14—Signed the United Nations declaration, on behalf of the Commonwealth government at an international ceremony held in the presence of Roosevelt and the delegates of all signatory nations at the White House. With this signal privilege accorded Quezon, the Philippines became practically independent with an independence that was right there and then given international recognition. From then on, the Philippine flag was displayed together with the colors of the Allied powers in all public functions anywhere, and the Philippines was at the same time admitted as a member of the Pacific War Council whose meetings were attended by either Quezon or Osmeña.

1943—March—Founded a monthly magazine which he himself called the **Philippines** devoted to the extensive publicizing of the varied activities of the Filipinos in the war.

1944—June 29—Enactment by the American Congress of the legislation providing for the establishment of bases in Philippine territory for the mutual protection of the United States and the Philippines and the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Considered as the greatest achievement of the Quezon administration in Washington.

1944—August 1—Died at Saranac, New York.

1946—August 1—Quezon laid to rest.

